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Yeltsin Comments on NPT Signing in Budapest

LD0512143894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1422 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] On December 5 in Budapest Presidents Boris Yeltsin of Russia and Bill Clinton of the United States signed, together with British Prime Minister John Major, memorandums on guarantees for former Soviet republics which join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Pact.

Ukraine was the first to receive nuclear guarantees from the three nuclear powers. It was Ukraine which earlier had proposed the extension of guarantees to former Soviet republics.

The United States, Russia and Britain pledged to respect the independence and sovereignty of former Soviet Nonproliferation treaty [NPT] signatories, in thei- present borders. They pledged to refrain from the use of force and threats to use force against newly nuclear free countries, as well as to refrain from economic pressure against such countries.

If a third country attacks a new member of the Non-Nuclear Club, the United States, Britain and Russia will urge an emergency sitting of the UN Security Council.

Yeltsin has expressed satisfaction with the CSCE's Budapest summit.

"It (the summit) is looking for more concrete steps to carry out those great tasks to build lasting peace on the continent and the planet," the president said, answering a question by Interfax special correspondent Boris Grishchenko following the signing of memorandums on security guarantees to be provided by Russia, the United States, and Britain for Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan.

Yeltsin said he welcomed the three former Soviet republics' desire to become non-nuclear states. Russia has "special, fraternal relations" with those countries, which ensures that their movement towards a non-nuclear status is irreversible, he said.

On Monday afternoon, Yeltsin was due to meet the prime ministers of Britain and Canada and the presidents of France and Slovakia.

"Those meetings are very important for the CSCE and Russia. I'm building great hopes on them," Yeltsin said answering a question by Interfax.

His closer entourage believes he may meet more leaders than he originally planned despite his shortage of time.

Yeltsin is expected to return to Moscow on Tuesday.

Kuchma: Russia Will Not Agree To Quick NATO Expansion

LD0512140894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1228 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The swift expansion of NATO could ruin the existing balance and cause a division of Europe, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma said on Monday [5 December] in an interview with INTERFAX-UKRAINE. Kuchma is taking part in the CSCE summit being held in Budapest December 5-6.

Kuchma believes that "Russia will not agree to quick NATO membership for East European countries." He believes "the process will be delayed." Kuchma also believes that NATO is not prepared to be expanded. He said that quick expansion could cause "many problems."

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Strengthening of Commonwealth Military Cooperation Viewed

MM0512125594 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 94 p 1

[Article by Sergey Prokopenko: "Commonwealth Countries' Armies Strengthen Cooperation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The past week has been another landmark in the development of military cooperation among the CIS states. A scientific and practical conference on "The Ways and Means of Practically Implementing the Military Aspects of the Concept for the Collective Security of the Parties to the Collective Security Treaty" was held at the Headquarters for the Coordination of Military Cooperation 30 November, while 1 December saw the latest session of the CIS Defense Ministers Council. These events must be examined together, since they focused on problems of military cooperation among the Commonwealth states.

In particular, during the conference its participants tried to fashion a system of collective military security for the near and long term and thoroughly discussed the practicalities of implementing the Collective Security Treaty concluded 15 May 1992. They examined the possible makeup and use of coalition groups of forces in regions, along with other aspects. Many speakers, including Gennadiy Shabannikov, general secretary of the Collective Security Council, noted that it is necessary to move on from words and agreements to concrete actions to create a real system.

The latest session of the CIS Defense Ministers Council could be described as one such concrete step. The leaders of the Azerbaijan, Armenian, Belorussian [Belarusian], Georgian, Kazakhstani, Kyrgyz, Russian, Tajik, and Uzbek military departments took part in its work. Turkmenistan and Ukraine sent observers. The session was chaired by Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister.

You can see how packed the work schedule was merely from the session's agenda, on which there were nine items. "The defense council of ministers" made a number of important decisions. Primarily on such an urgent problem today as organizing the repair of arms and military hardware at the CIS states' defense departments' repair enterprises. The session ratified the appropriate statute, which envisages that the CIS countries' repair enterprises will fulfill orders from all CIS armies, while payments will be made in line with an accord. By decision of the Defense Ministers Council the powers of the commander of the Collective Peacekeeping Forces [CPF] in Tajikistan have been broadened. In emergencies he now has the right to autonomously decide to use force and subsequently brief the heads of state thereon. He has been accorded the right to change the organizational-staff structure of the CPF and to appoint and remove officers. It has also been decided that the peacekeeping operation in the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict zone will be provided with material, technical, and financial support out of the CIS states' contributions; and a plan for the work of the Defense Ministers Council next year has been approved.

To sum up I must point out that this conference winds up another year in the work of the CIS Defense Ministers Council. The year has seen four sessions of the council, which have adopted over 20 decisions and prepared and coordinated 24 draft documents regulating questions of military cooperation and enhancing the Commonwealth states' defense capability. It is also obvious that, despite skeptics' claims, military cooperation among the CIS states is broadening and strengthening. At any rate, despite some difficulties and contentious elements, real preconditions are emerging for the creation of a CIS collective security system, and the process of forming this system is under way.

The session also broached other topical questions. In particular, on the initiative of the Azerbaijani defense minister the session participants exchanged opinions on the unprecedented Russian mass media attacks on the Russian military leadership, which are evoking serious concern in the Commonwealth countries. An appeal was adopted following the discussion and is published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA today.

Agro-Industrial Council Meeting 'Beneficial'

MM0512143394 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 3 Dec 94 p 1

["In Search Of Unity" report by Anatoliy Gulyayev: "The Main Thing Is To Reestablish Links"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Republic of Belorussia [Belarus]—A session of the CIS Intergovernmental Council on the Agro-Industrial Complex was held in Minsk on 1 December.

The agriculture ministers attending the session concentrated on the question of coordination and information cooperation among the Commonwealth states in the sphere of agrarian policy and economic reforms. A very topical theme, because, as one conference participant put it, "...we are all tackling the same problems."

This was confirmed during the ensuing discussion.

Belorussian Agriculture Minister Vasiliy Leonov noted in his report that in only the first nine months of the year agricultural production had fallen by 15 percent and the wage level was only 62 percent of that in industry. Prices of the main types of products consumed by the countryside increased this year, compared with 1991, 63,000 times in the case of gasoline, 152,000 times in the case of diesel, 35,000 times in the case of mineral fertilizers, and 20,000-25,000 times in the case of agricultural equipment. Prices of agricultural products increased 2,500-6,000 times.

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As a result of the policy of curbing purchase prices, in the first 10 months agricultural producers were underpaid to the tune of 830 billion coupons [zaytsy].

At the same time, production of traditional types of product has fallen. Primarily because of their low marketability. For example, the Republic used to sell more than 1 million tonnes of potatoes, but now it is only a few tens of thousands of tonnes. There are big problems with agricultural equipment. Sales are difficult these days. It is difficult to obtain too. In the past three years not one "Don" has been bought in Belorussia, so the grain-harvesting combine pool is decrepit.

Nonpayments are still a scourge as far as agriculture is concerned. What kind of state is it in which you deliver products and then spend months waiting to be paid for them? Kolkhozes and sovkhozes are currently owed more than 150 billion rubles [R].

Similar problems were mentioned in practically every speech. In many cases they are aggravated by the situation in society. In the case of Tajikistan, for example, now is not the time to talk about reforms. There can be no question of distribution of land in civil war conditions. It is important at least to preserve what was there before.

But for the majority of conference participants the question of reforms is overdue. And it transpires that everyone is following approximately the same path. In this respect, the experience and programs of the conference hosts—the Belorussians—was interesting and instructive for everyone. A reform blueprint was devised. It proposes the stage-by-stage reorganization of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and processing enterprises. The ultimate aim is to create a variety of forms of ownership and production relations: from the preservation of kolkhozes to cooperatives, lease-holding collectives, limited joint-stock companies, and private farms.

It proposes effective reorganization of the sectoral finance and credit system combined with the obligatory introduction of a bankruptcy mechanism. And, as the vice premier said, doing the most difficult thing—making a political decision to release prices, which is pretty hard in a republic which is constantly talking about the social protection of the population.

There was a lively discussion at the conference of the question of privatization of land, turning it into a commodity. This had its supporters and opponents. Armenia, for example, has already completed privatization. Which, according to its representative, helped it obtain record potato, grape, and fruit harvests, despite the political and economic situation in the Republic.

Kazakhastan has not taken this path....

The participants agreed to hold mutual consultations, contribute to the shaping of a concerted interstate policy in the agrarian sector, and collaborate in the solution of problems of the social protection of peasants....

There was also a discussion of the question of coordinating cooperation in the fight against plant and animal pests and diseases. Because the rupture of economic links had a damaging effect in this area too.

Here is just one example: Russia, like the rest of the Union, had been free of cattle plague since 1929. It has now reappeared. The almost total lack of controls in the meat trade and the complete lack of coordination in the work of the CIS countries' health services could make the situation dangerous.

As the conference chairman—Russian Vice Premier Aleksandr Zaveryukha—said, the main thing today is to reestablish links. And decisions were adopted to this end: A Moscow-based permanent Secretariat of the Intergovernmental Conference on the AgroIndustrial Complex was established. As well as permanent coordinating councils on veterinary science and plant protection. No one begrudged spending money on this. Because peasant leaders, unlike politicians, have always known what you cannot skimp on.

All the conference participants agreed that the conference work had been beneficial. It was decided to meet more often.

Alignment of CIS Social Legislation Urged

MM0512163194 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 2 Dec 94 p 4

[Article by Vladimir Shcherbakov, chairman of the General Confederation of Trade Unions, under "View of a Competent Individual" rubric: "Whether in Minsk or Moscow, You Will Not Sit Down To Eat Without Bread—There Has To Be an Alignment of National Legislation in the Interests of the Workers, the Chairman of the General Confederation of Trade Unions Believes"—from issue no. 2 of the RT-SODRUZHESTVO section, "Joint Publication of the CIS Interparliamentary Assembly and RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For more than 18 months the association of Commonwealth trade unions—the General Confederation of Trade Unions [GCTU]—has had officially ratified representation under the Interparliamentary Assembly of CIS Member States. Throughout all that time we have been steadfastly setting up cooperation with the organs of the Interparliamentary Assembly, its standing commissions, and with the apparatus. And I will say immediately that this was not an easy thing to do, owing to the fairly wary attitude toward the trade unions.

Nowadays, our representatives are perceived here as full-fledged and useful partners. We value this reputation.

The General Confederation of Trade Unions did not come to the assembly empty-handed. It had prepared a whole range of documents pertaining to problems of the

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social defense of the citizens of independent states. A number of them were discussed and adopted at the October session of the Interparliamentary Assembly Council and at the assembly's fifth plenary session, in whose work a representative delegation of the GCTU also participated.

In line with a report by the GCTU, the Interparliamentary Assembly Council adopted a decree "On the Participation of the Interparliamentary Assembly in Preparing and Staging a World Summit in the Interests of Social Development." The meeting will take place 6 through 12 March 1995 in Copenhagen as one of the events dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the birth of the United Nations. It is planned to examine three packages of questions. The first concerns the reduction and eradication of destitution and poverty, phenomena so widespread throughout the world. In the second, matters will center on the need to guarantee the fruitful employment of people and a reduction in unemployment. And finally, in the third, the problems of social integration will be discussed. By its own decision, the Interparliamentary Assembly Council supported the trade unions' view of the urgent need for each of the CIS countries and the Commonwealth in general to participate in this forum.

Vital questions concerning the social development of our states and their collaboration in the social sphere were examined by the assembly. The documents adopted by it are intended to determine the direction and nature of our cooperation and to stimulate integration processes well into the future. They include the Charter of Social Rights and Guarantees of Citizens of the Independent States, and recommended legislative acts.

The drafts of these documents, which I believe are important, were prepared by experts from the GCTU and its member organizations, and they express the agreed position of the Commonwealth's trade union movement. They may become the basis for corresponding laws in the independent states.

Incidentally, the aforementioned Charter saw daylight for the first time after approval by the GCTU Executive Committee back in August 1992. What is the thinking behind it? Economic reforms are going on in our states. They are progressing variously. But common to all is the profound economic crisis, the continuing slump in production, and, as a result, the sharp drop in the population's living standards.

Today, only quite irresponsible people fail to understand that the resolution of extremely painful problems and the reliable defense of people's vital interests are realistic only in conditions of the preservation of a single economic and social area. It is here, in the view of the trade unions, that uniform minimum social guarantees must be secured for each and every individual irrespective of citizenship, nationality, sex and age, religious and political convictions, language, and other characteristics. This is how the norms in the Charter adopted by the Interparliamentary Assembly are "constructed." Its provisions are based on the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Social Pacts, and other documents of the United Nations, the International Labor Organization, and so on.

Preparation of the recommended legislative act "On the Minimum Consumer Budget" progressed haltingly. The greatest difficulty was the choice of method of definition and of the specific purpose of the minimum consumer budget. The problem here is that the minimum consumer budget must simultaneously be the criterion for evaluating living standards and the basis for establishing minimum social guarantees. If it is calculated in proportion to the average per capita income rather than according to the consumer basket, then there is a danger of cutting minimum social guarantees based on it to an even lower level than at present.

And today's picture, alas, is cheerless. The minimum working wage, according to trade union estimates, by the middle of the year comprised the following proportions of the minimum consumer budget: 14.8 percent in Belorussia [Belarus], 13.3 percent in Kirghizia [Kyrgyzstan], 9.2 percent in Russia, 5.3 percent in Moldavia [Moldova], and just 2.9 percent in Ukraine. And only in Belorussia and Russia does the average wage exceed the minimum consumer budget. In Moldavia it is at a level of 33 percent, in Kirghizia—57 percent, and in Ukraine—61 percent of the minimum consumer budget. All this is a direct proof of the extreme understatement of the price of labor.

According to the most optimistic calculations, in CIS countries one-third of the population already lives below the poverty line. Coordinated actions in evaluating the cost of living are required. It is a matter of aligning national legislation on minimum state guarantees for workers and on measures for the social defense of the population. The Interparliamentary Assembly's recommended legislative act should also facilitate this.

I will note that laws on the minimum consumer budget have been adopted in six of the Commonwealth states (Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Moldavia, Russia, and Ukraine). But what is evident is the blatant aspiration of governments to revise them and to adopt lower standards of evaluating living standards. The trade unions insist on maintaining the minimum consumer budget indicators approved by the assembly and on the unacceptability of lowering the criteria for defining the "poverty line" and minimum social guarantees.

The GCTU intends to broaden cooperation with the Interparliamentary Assembly and other statutory organs of the CIS. For we are convinced that this meets the aspirations of millions of people for a revival (naturally, on new terms) of close interrelations and friendship amonng the Republics and peoples, and, as a result, multiplies the common efforts to emerge from the crisis.

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ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 6 Dec

LD0612084194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0646 GMT 6 Dec 94

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 6 (ITAR-TASS)—Today's Russian newspapers concentrate on the situation in and outside Chechnya. Russian premier Viktor Chernomyrdin advocates "a peaceful and worthy solution" of the Chechen problem.

He said in an interview with the ROSSIISKAYA GAZETA newspaper that he assesses the situation in Chechenya "with guarded optimism". According to Chernomyrdin, his optimism is based on the fact that the Russian president's address to the warring sides in Chechenya had its effect: clashes stopped.

Speaking of what methods should be used to normalise the situation in the republic, the cabinet head noted that "all efforts should be now aimed at finding a peaceful and worthy solution of the problem through negotiations.

"The aim of the federal authorities is to stop the reign of violence in Chechnya as well as permanent violations of the Russian Constitution and laws. Various methods can be used to achieve this, but the main thing is to ensure, at long last, conditions for normal life of people," he continued.

Chernomyrdin said that all efforts should be made to carry out democratic elections of bodies of authority in Chechenya in the near future, and this authority should be recognised by everybody.

The IZVESTIYA newspaper claims that "the war in Chechnya can kill Russian democracy". The daily substantiates its conclusions by "inconvincibility" of the Russian policy in the Caucasus.

In the newspaper's opinion, "the Russian policy in Chechnya, apart from being senseless and unwise, consolidated Dudayev's power, helping to substantiate his claims, disgraced the Russian Armed Forces and young Russian democracy and undermined confidence in their leaders".

The TRUD newspaper holds the same opinion. The newspaper writes in the article "Chechen knot cannot be untied with lies" that "the hotbed of tension which smouldered over the three years of the slack federal policy in the region, erupted with sanguinary flames in the last November days, added a new round to destabilisation of the political situation in Russia and made a telling blow at the prestige of the government and the Russian president".

The PRAVDA newspaper prints an interview with Vladimir Lysenko, chairman of the lower house subcommittee on the affairs of the Federation and regional policy, who was in Chechnya together with a group of other legislators.

He describes the situation in Chechnya the following way: "The idea of a state of emergency in the Caucasus is unrealisable. Any attempt at establishing law and order by military methods and settling the problem will lead to a guerrilla war similar to the Afghan one".

The RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newpspaper asks the following questions: "Who ordered tanks to take combat positions and 'unidentified" warplanes to make air raids in Chechnya?" In the newspaper's opinion, the Russian public is waiting for a reply to this question.

The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper carries a video-taped interview with Russian troops who participated in the assault on Groznyy together with opposition detachments. They are now hiding in Chechnya where they found "fraternal reception and shelter".

The press gives much attention to the CSCE summit, now in progress in Budapest. The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper stresses that "the CSCE summit is looking for ways to a Europe of the 21st century, a continent of peace and security".

However, notes the organ of the Defence Ministry, it turned out that the West's line for ignoring CSCE has not justified itself. NATO leading powers are looking for ways of whitewashing an expansion of the North Atlantic Bloc (planned by them) in the eye of those who see in this a real attempt to split Europe.

In this connection, the newspaper notes, Moscow started vigorous activities aimed at raising the role of CSCE in creating reliable and effective security in Europe.

ROSSIISKAYA GAZETA believes that it is high time to renovate CSCE. It quotes the Russian president's statement at the Budapest meeting that blocs and coalitions will not give real guarantees of security in Europe.

Russia believes that peaceful activities should be based on the jointly drafted "programme for Europe on the road to the 21st century", the government newspaper notes. CSCE should play the key role in drafting important decisions for Europe.

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U.S. Official: Washington Not To Promote NATO Expansion

LD0512203194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2005 GMT 5 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Surzhansky]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Washington December 5 TASS—The United States does not intend to promote NATO's expansion in the near future, an official of the U.S. State department, who asked to be unnamed, told ITAR-TASS on Monday [5 December].

This was the response to Boris Yeltsin's statement at the CSCE forum in Budapest to the effect that plans to expand NATO might create new disengagement barriers instead of bringing nearer the European unity.

The U.S. official said that the United States understood the concern expressed by President Yeltsin. Therefore, Washington is currently holding consultations on this problem with its NATO allies, he added.

Yeltsin Questions Impressions of Clinton's Speech

LD0512212194 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2006 GMT 5 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Aleksandrova, Sergey Zhirnikhin, Yuriy Sizov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Budapest, 5 Dec—Russan President Boris Yeltsin thinks it is necessary to strive for Russia and the United States having closer positions concerning NATO problems. He told this to Russian journalists today, following the evening sitting of the heads of states and governments of the CSCE member-countries.

Otherwise, we will go our own ways and why have partnership at all—after all, it presupposes mutual support of the sides for each other, it presupposes that the sides seek for such compromises as are to their liking, he added. Yeltsin said he was confident that together with the United States, Russia would manage to find such a compromise where NATO's problems were concerned. He made the conditions of such a compromise more precise: In the first place, there is no need to be hasty about NATO's expansion. This can be settled through negotiations and I think that following discussions, the American side will go for this. In the second place, very strict conditions must be worked out governing the accession of new members to the North Atlantic alliance and here the American side can meet Russia half way.

Yeltsin drew the attention of journalists to that place in the U.S. President's speech at the summit where Bill Clinton said that the road to joining NATO was open to everybody. At the same time he failed to mention that the Americans do not wish to see Russia in NATO and that is the essence of the matter, the Russian leader continued. In Yeltsin's view that is precisely what the U.S. President talks about in private.

One of the questions put to Yeltsin was about the impression that Bill Clinton made of going away from the Budapest summit as a victor. The Russian president pointed out that the United States has made a fair contribution to the success of the European process. In this respect he recalled a phrase in his speech at the Budapest summit: It is a dangerous delusion to consider that the destinies of continents and of the world community as a whole can be decided from any one capital alone. Everybody understood what capital was in mind, said Yeltsin.

Besides this, the Russian president said that Bill Clinton wanted to be the chairman at the small summit of the leaders of Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus, the Russian Federation, the United States, and Great Britain. No matter how hard he had tried he failed to achieve that" concluded Yeltsin.

Yeltsin Opposes 'NATO Bloc'; Expresses Russia's Concern

LD0512204494 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1927 GMT 5 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Aleksandrova, Sergey Zhirnikhin, Yuriy Sizov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Budapest, 5 Dec—During the course of today's CSCE sitting, the Russian president had to be quite outspoken on the issue of a fast expansion of NATO through Central and Eastern European countries. Boris Yeltsin said this today, replying to questions from Russian journalists.

We are against this. Russia cannot reconcile itself to NATO's borders coming directly in contact with the border of the Russian Federation, he continued. It looks as though the system of blocs, that is to say, something we have left behind, is now coming back—the NATO bloc on the one hand and Russia on the other.

In the words of the president, Russia does not wish to threaten anyone and, on the other hand, it does not know how NATO will behave. That is why Russians have a legitimate concern, he noted—and this explained why Russia was dealing uncompromisingly with this issue at the Budapest summit.

Yeltsin said that during discussions concerning this problem with leaders of other states, a number of them supported Russia's view that there was no need to be hasty about NATO's expansion. It is necessary to discuss everything thoroughly and to work out procedures for new members joining NATO, added the president. In any case, it was impermissible, in his view, to allow new members joining NATO "in one fell swoop" in the course of one year. This threatens Russia's security, added Yeltsin.

The president also dwelled on the issue of the possibility that Russia might join NATO. Russia's leadership has already repeatedly considered the issue of joining NATO

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and we think that in time Russia may become mature enough to join the bloc's political part, he said. The Russian president let it be understood that this kind of participation in NATO's political wing would be on a par with the status of France, when it was not a part of NATO's military wing. Russia would not then be cut off from those issues that would be discussed by those European countries who are NATO members, Yeltsin continued. Russia should prepare its own fall back maneuver. This is precisely what we are doing now, he added.

Says No Need for Expansion

LD0512174794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has no doubts that the NATO member states would not support his view that there is no need in expanding the North Atlantic Alliance. "I have no illusions about it but what is important is that Russia has made its point clear in Budapest," Yeltsin said in response to a question asked by Interfax's Boris Grishchenko.

Yeltsin had earlier told a plenary session of the heads of state and government of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe that NATO, created in the cold war era, found it difficult to find a new role for itself in a new Europe. What is important, he said, is that the search for a new role should not result in new demarcation lines because "we are no longer adversaries, we are partners."

He rejected the argument advanced by supporters of NATO expansion that the shifting of the NATO area towards the Russian borders was a kind of expansion of stability. He said that democracy in Russia was still very much alive and that Russia did not intend to create a new bloc in the CIS framework opposing anybody. Yeltsin emphasized that the CIS was based on CSCE principles.

Further Yeltsin Comments

LD0612073194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0512 GMT 6 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Aleksandrova, Sergey Zhirnikhin, and Yuriy Sizov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest December 6—During the CSCE meeting, the Russian president "had to speak sharply enough on NATO's expansion at the expense of Central and East European countries", Boris Yeltsin said here on monday evening, replying to Russian journalists' questions.

"We are against this. Russia cannot put up with NATO's borders approaching directly the Russian frontier," he continued. "It turns out that we have come to what we had left—that is the bloc system: on the one side, the NATO bloc, on the other, Russia."

According to the president, Russia does not want to threaten anybody, on the other side, it does not know how NATO will behave itself. Therefore, he noted, Russians experience logical concern, which explains the sharp reaction of Russia at the Budapest summit.

Yeltsin said that when he discussed this issue with leaders of other states, some of them backed Russia's position that there should not be any hurry with NATO's expansion. According to Yeltsin, "everything should be attentively discussed, and a concept for admitting new members to NATO should be developed".

The president also spoke about a possibility of Russia's admission to NATO. "The russian leadership has repeatedly discussed the question of joining NATO. We believe that it will be ripe enough, with time, to join the political part of the bloc," he said.

Yeltsin intimated that such a participation in NATO's political organisation would be similar to the status of France when it was outside the military organisation of the north Atlantic alliance.

The president noted that it is necessary to strive for bringing closer the positions of Russia and the United States on NATO affairs. "Otherwise we shall go apart, otherwise there is no need for partnership at all, since it presupposes that sides support each other and look for such compromises which suit them," he added.

Yeltsin expressed confidence that Russia, together with the U.S., will find such a compromise on NATO issues.

Yeltsin said that proposals were made at the summit meeting to reorganise the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to make its work more efficient. According to the Russian leader, CSCE does not have now its own military contingent for peaceful efforts at "flash points".

"It turns out that Russia is engaged in settling conflicts in 'flash points' in its neighbourhood, and this is not just," he added. Yeltsin noted that, speaking with French President Francois Mitterrand, he favoured the creation of a single peace-keeping corps which would include military units from various countries.

Replying to ITAR-TASS, the Russian president said that the outgoing year witnessed serious changes in the position of EU and the West as a whole concerning business partnership with Russia.

According to Yeltsin, all analysts noticed that the Russian president did not request aid during the latest contacts with the leaders of those coutries, including the United States. The development of equal and mutually advantageous cooperation is more important for Russia, Yeltsin stressed.

However, no discrimination on trade and economic cooperation should be against Russia. "Discrimination was practiced everywhere up to this time. This train has

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pulled out of the deadend at long last, and decisions are now being taken on equal terms," he said.

Turning to humanitarian aspects of the European process, Yeltsin said that Russia's repeated appeals to CSCE on such an acute issue for it as crude violations of human rights in Estonia and Latvia, were of no avail.

CSCE has not developed an instrument which could be used to protect the rights of Russian population in those states, he stressed. "We constantly noted that democracy starts with respect for human rights," Yeltsin continued.

"The Soviet Union was accused of this some time in the past. Russia accuses now states violating human rights and demands their observance," the Russian leader underlined.

Kozyrev Aide Cautious About Russia-NATO Program

LD0512164294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1509 GMT 5 Dec 94

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature by diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Korzun, Igor Porshnev, Yevgeniy Terekhov, and others]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Russian Foreign Ministry believes that had Moscow ignored the "new realities" and adopted the Russia-NATO program without delay, this would have had almost catastrophic consequences for the country's international image, a senior diplomat from Andrey Kozyrev's entourage told Interfax on Monday.

According to him, the "new realities" took shape when the NATO Council issued on the level of foreign ministers a communique in which it unambiguously called for expanding the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. "The assurances that NATO intends to expand partnership with Russia, Ukraine and other CIS countries included in the communique did not alter its essence," he noted.

The diplomat has just returned from Brussels where he attended a session of the North-Atlantic Council for Cooperation as a member of the Russian delegation led by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. "Russia's decision is fully understood on the level of NATO experts," he said. "In private conversations our NATO colleagues conceded that any other reaction from Moscow would have had far- reaching consequences for it," he said.

According to the Foreign Ministry official, Russia intends to take advantage of the "time out", which occurred not through its fault, in order to "study all aspects of the NATO communique in detail, and conduct additional consultations with its NATO partners." "We will adopt the program only when our concerns are alleviated," he pointed out.

Russia to Take Advantage of 'Time Out' on NATO Program

LD0512152294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1402 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Russian Foreign Ministry believes that had Moscow ignored the "new realities" and adopted the Russia-NATO program without delay, this would have had almost catastrophic consequences for the country's international image, a senior diplomat from Andrey Kozyrev's entourage told Interfax on Monday [5 December].

According to him, the "new realities" took shape when the NATO Council issued on the level of foreign ministers a communique in which it unambiguously called for expanding the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. "The assurances that NATO intends to expand partnership with Russia, Ukraine and other CIS countries, included in the communique, did not alter its essence," he noted.

According to the Foreign Ministry official, Russia intends to take advantage of the "time out", which occurred through no fault of its own, in order to "study all aspects of the NATO communique in detail, and conduct additional consultations with its NATO partners." "We will adopt the program only when our concerns are alleviated," he stressed.

Kozyrev Refuses To Sign NATO Document

MM0612105594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Dec 94 First Edition p 1

[Report by RIA-NOVOSTI Own Correspondent Vladimir Katin "exclusively for ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA": "Stage Fright in Brussels—Andrey Kozyrev Unexpectedly Refuses to Sign Document on Military Cooperation Between Russia and NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brussels—Andrey Kozyrev, head of Russian diplomacy, arrived in Brussels last week for the express purpose of signing with NATO an already concrete program of individual cooperation projects developing the "Partnership for Peace" program adopted by Russia in June. But he did not sign the documents, justifying his refusal by citing new circumstances—namely, the appearance of a communique from the NATO session containing many obscure elements for the Russian side. Matters in this document center on the expansion of NATO to incorporate East European countries, but without any mention of Russia.

The reaction within NATO was fiery—questions, supposition, conjecture, intricate commentaries. U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher spread his arms in despair and expressed himself extremely surprised, especially as Moscow itself had been keen for the signing to take place at this NATO session.

Political observers in the Belgian capital are putting forward their own theories. Some believe that this gesture by the Russian minister was meant for domestic use

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and intended for those in the Duma who criticize the government for too close a rapprochement with the North Atlantic Alliance. Others suggest that the aim is being pursued of creating division within NATO.

A calmer stance is taken by professional experts on Russia within the NATO administration.

In conversations, NATO staffers recall that Russia was among the last to adopt the "Partnership for Peace" program—it kept postponing deadlines, it stipulated terms, but in the end, having failed to achieve what it wanted, it signed. In doing so the Russian leadership understood only too well that, sooner or later, the next stage for all those who had adopted this program would be full-fledged NATO membership. In principle, this possibility has not been ruled out in respect of Russia either. But is Russia ready for the kind of membership which entails the long-term subordination of a contingent of its armed forces to the NATO commander in chief—invariably an American general? Is NATO ready to take Russia to its bosom? Nobody at NATO headquarters or in the capitals of participant countries is giving an affirmative answer to this question.

Andrey Kozyrev, of course, had grounds for expressing doubts 1 December at the NATO headquarters to its leaders about the aims and purpose of the "Partnership for Peace" program, to which all the countries of East Europe, Russia, and the former Union republics are now tied. "It seems that, in point of fact, what the partnership boils down to is an auxiliary mechanism for a decision already adopted on the expansion of NATO...," he said. "The text of the NATO session communique in a number of instances creates precisely this impression."

Army Paper Nods To Kozyrev Concern Over NATO Intentions

MM0512121794 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Mikhail Pogorelyy: "Russia Does Not Like Dual Approach"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's speech at the NATO Council ended unexpectedly. Having advocated the development of cooperation between our country and NATO, Kozyrev suddenly said that he would not sign the previously prepared "Russia-NATO" program, which concretizes the directions of Partnership for Peace. Yet it was the signing of this document that was to have been the main element in his current visit to Brussels.

The Russian minister said that the reason for this decision, which was, incidentally, coordinated with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, is the dual nature of the communique adopted by the NATO Council. It speaks about prospects for developing partnership with the countries of East Europe and at the same time of the possibility of and need for expanding the bloc. Thus, Kozyrev said, we cannot see whether partnership is NATO's true strategy or just a cover, a backdrop against which it is preparing for real eastward expansion.

The position espoused by the head of the Russian Foreign Ministry is clear in principle. From the very start of contacts with NATO our country has after all unequivocally opposed the bloc's expansion through the admission of the young democratic states of Central and East Europe. And there are people in Brussels and Washington who agree with Moscow's arguments. Correspondingly, taking the objective European realities into account, the NATO states also proposed the Partnership for Peace program with the intention of equitable cooperation with all the former socialist countries and Soviet republics, at least for the foreseeable future. Needless to say, candidacies for top-priority admission to the alliance have been discussed in London, Washington, and Bonn—but behind the scenes, on an unofficial basis. The NATO Council's recent communique raises the question openly and bluntly of "Why and how we should expand the bloc eastward," Secretary General Willy Claes admitted.

Science Academy Official on Dangers of NATO Expansion

BR0512135294 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 3 Dec 94 p 14

[Commentary by Sergey Karaganov, member of the Presidential Council and deputy director of the European Institute of the Russian Science Academy: "NATO Expansion Would Reawaken Hawks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian concern at possible NATO expansion is not due to fear of an increased military threat. Nor is there any question of a Russian leader seeking to regain control over Central and Eastern Europe. Such claims are totally misplaced.

The problem lies much deeper. The present crisis situation and Russia's related weakness make the country more sensitive than ever to the threat of political isolation. NATO expansion to include Central and Eastern European countries gives the impression of an attempt to create a European security system which excludes Russia. This threatens to further weaken Russia's position in relation to the West—and this benefits neither good relations nor comprehensive dialogue with Central and Eastern Europe.

In addition, Russia must also take into account the far-reaching effects of NATO expansion on the internal political situation. It will produce a wave of anti-Western protests which will increasingly force into a corner the Russian "Westerners" who have favored democracy and capitalism for many years now.

More importantly, NATO expansion could even lead Russia to set up its own defense system with neighboring countries. This would then produce two security systems, one consisting of NATO and a number of Central and Eastern European countries, and another with

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Russia at its core. Not all the neighboring countries would want to join this second security system. Pressure would thus be exerted upon them, further increasing the tension in the process.

For the second time since the World War II, Russia would find itself in a very unfavorable situation. This time it would not be a question of direct confrontation, but of indirect confrontation and Russia would be distrusted by virtually the whole of Europe. Russia would only have the support of politically, economically, and socially weak countries.

The threat of NATO's and Russia's borders drawing closer together plays into the hands of the hawks in the West and Russia alike who in the past kept their eyes firmly fixed on the number of nuclear warheads, tanks, etc. Overnight, such concerns ceased to be relevant, because NATO and Russia were separated by a 1,500-km wide zone of semidemilitarized countries.

But if the borders draw closer again, a number of old ideas could again gain credence. Tension in the new frontier areas would certainly increase. I include in this the Baltic states, the Soviet Union's former western republics, and the area around Kalingrad.

I am not so pessimistic as to believe that the expansion of NATO would signal a global tragedy. But I do believe that the whole expansionist scenario could set Russia on a revisionist course. Russia then becomes a country which loses its interest in the existing status quo, which is probably going to seek allies elsewhere and will try to destabilize the existing situation. I do not believe this is something anybody wants to see.

It is not right to only blame the East Europeans for this situation. In one way or another, they simply want to be a part of the West. But nor is the West solely to blame. Not everybody favors NATO expansion. We must also look to ourselves for the cause.

We say "no" to NATO expansion but fail to pursue any kind of European policy. Moreover, we have lost the initiative in our bilateral relations and in our contacts with leading European organizations. Russia must consider a long-term program for European security system reform, a program which must allow Russia and its neighbors to enter the 21st century with a sense of relative security.

We must consider how the future security system can meet everyone's interests—including Russia's. The contours of such a concept remain vague. The Western partners also lack such a long-term plan.

A joint security system would have to be based on existing institutions such as the CSCE, NATO, WEU [Western European Union], and the EU [European Union]. But initiatives are needed if we are to make any progress in this field. We must also shape our own foreign policy to provide room for long-term planning. This is not the case at present. In the meantime, the West must seek some kind of alternative to NATO expansion.

This expansion at present hangs over us like Damocles sword and hinders Russia in its actions. Even if there is no NATO expansion in the short term, as the latest reports seem to suggest, it nevertheless remains an obstacle.

Over the next few months, we must get down to some serious planning for the new security system. These plans must initially come from Russia. For their part, NATO countries must make their position clear and state in which year—in 1999 for example—they will be making the final decision on the Alliance structure. This then gives Russia three or four years to come up with productive ideas not only in the field of international relations but also for the economy—allowing Russia to finally start to develop.

Yeltsin Leaves Budapest for Home After CSCE Summit

LD0612092194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0859 GMT 6 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest December 6 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin flew from Budapest home today. The Russian president took part in the summit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe held in the Hungarian capital.

Before the president's departure from Budapest, there was a working luncheon of Boris Yeltsin in the temporary presidential residence in Budapest with German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and later a tripartite meeting of the Russian president, Helmut Kohl, and Jacques Delors.

Rybkin Favors CSCE Institutions Over Regional Bodies

MM0512112794 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 94 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Ivan Rybkin, chairman of Russian Federation State Duma, by Yuriy Filippov of RIA-NOVOSTI; place and date not given: "Ivan Rybkin: European Problems Cannot Be Resolved Without Russia"—first paragraph is introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] A CSCE summit meeting will be held in Budapest 5 December. The presidents of Russia and the United States will participate in it. On the threshold of the meeting ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, with the help of RIA-NOVOSTI, asked the State Duma chairman to voice his opinion of this organization's relationship with the North Atlantic alliance in building a security system in Europe.

[Filippov] What role can the CSCE play as a coordinating organ in the new Europe over the next few years?

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[Rybkin] A central, determining role. The CSCE is essentially the only appropriate instrument for settling conflict situations in Europe that is capable of reacting more flexibly and quickly in crisis situations than others. The CSCE unites all of Europe, and this means that its decisions are coordinated by all Europeans—equitably and without diktat. But the experience of regional European organizations in "settling" conflicts suffers from a one-sided, bifocal approach. Therefore, it is not only ineffective but even dangerous to European security and European peace.

This is not to mention the danger associated with attempts to resolve European problems without Russia's participation.

Therefore we deem it not only expedient but also urgently necessary to increase the CSCE's weight and influence in European affairs.

It is primarily necessary to draw up a CSCE Charter and to create on its basis an effective mechanism for adopting binding decisions, while preserving the basic principle of consensus. It is a question of creating a leading organ—the CSCE Executive Committee—with permanent and rotating members.

We favor all possible development of the CSCE's parliamentary dimension.

Who knows better than the European peoples' elected representatives their aspirations and interests?

[Filippov] How, in your opinion, will relations develop between the CSCE and NATO?

[Rybkin] Both NATO and the CSCE took shape in specific historical and geopolitical conditions. Today these conditions have changed and are evidently in need of the corresponding modification [as published]. Of course, this is not the work of a single day.

But it is time to be realistic and to accept life the way it is. In the present situation there is no way other than positive cooperation among all the existing institutions that are capable of ensuring security and stability in Europe, including, of course, both the CSCE and NATO. Our cooperation within the framework of the "Partnership for Peace" and the "European Stability Pact" accords with this aim.

Let us look the truth in the eyes. Within the framework of relations with both NATO and the CSCE we are dealing with the same members of the all-European orchestra. The only question is: Who will play "first fiddle"? I believe that it must be the CSCE, which possesses great potential and has everything necessary to elaborate an integrated and nondiscriminatory model of European security with due regard for the continent's general and specific interests.

Any other approaches based on NATO's eastward advance by means of the phased and selective expansion of the military-political alliance are dangerous and without prospects. They lead people into the temptation to return to the old times and to use the bloc principle to impose and advance their own interests from a position of strength.

CSCE Summit Failed to Agree 'a Single Document'

LD0612094594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0900 GMT 6 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Aleksandrova, Sergey Zhirnikhin and Yuriy Sizov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest December 6 TASS—The CSCE summit has not agreed a single document by midnight of December 5. Will a package of over ten documents be agreed at all?

True, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev expressed hope in an interview with ITAR-TASS that a consensus on a single package will be reached after all. However, its price will be aproval of each decision separatly.

Documents connected with the CSCE policy in overcoming the Bosnian crisis and a settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict provoke the most acute discussions up to this time.

According to a unanimous opinion of analysts, the situation is complicated by the Bosnian delegation which has not hammered out an acceptable position for itself.

All other CSCE decisions lose their legal force without a document on Bosnia. Besides, possible reorganisation of CSCE and its conversion into a rigional organisation by January 1, 1995 demand that summit participants take a more flexible and agreed position on all important issues on the continent.

U.S. Leadership 'In Doubt' Over Bosnia Issue

MM0512141094 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Dec 94 p 3

[Article by Vladimir Nadein: "A Black Week for U.S. Diplomacy Places U.S. Leadership in Doubt"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Washington—The nightmare week for U.S. diplomacy which began last Sunday is hardly likely to end even next Wednesday. The foundations on which America's long-term policy in Bosnia and, on the broader plane, across Europe rests have been destroyed and reduced to dust.

Defense Secretary William Perry's statement, which caused the abrupt change in the White House line on Bosnia, contained comments which until recently would have been inconceivable. What used to be called Serb aggression against a sovereign country became a "civil war"—a term which suggests a basic equality in law between the warring sides. It has been recognized that the two main deterrents—the threat of air strikes and the

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threat of lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia—are not working. Disagreements between the NATO allies soon sprang up like weeds and are now visible everywhere in all their horror. This is the first time since the 1956 Suez crisis that the alliance has been split between Europe and the United States.

The next few days of the week revealed a host of sorry inconsistencies.

On Tuesday, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher canceled his long-planned speech on the blossoming of NATO even though during a meeting with journalists he denied that there is a crisis in this organization. At the same time he recognized that the White House will no longer insist on the use of military force to end the Serb attacks on Bihac. Instead he called for the use of diplomatic means, including incentives, for the Bosnian Serbs.

But the most important thing is that the Secretary of State stated that the United States will no longer object to "political ties between Serbia and the Serb communities in neighboring countries." Observers immediately viewed this as a U.S. departure from the outright rejection of the idea of a "greater Serbia."

It has reached the point where Clinton's advisers have advised him not to go to Budapest for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe that is opening there.

This diplomatic Dunkirk, abounding in vivid details of a flight in panic, was made worse by the trip to Europe by Senator Bob Dole, the future leader of the Senate majority and de facto leader of the Republican Party.

Even though the Republicans went into the elections with a program aimed at reducing America's foreign involvement, Bosnia remained on the list of that party's main concerns, as shown by the fact that the administration and the president were sharply criticized for their indecision in this area.

As often happens in Washington, the opposition essentially proposed what the administration was campaigning for, only in larger doses. That is, not to intimidate the Serbs with air strikes but to scare the hell out of them with awesome strikes from the same air. And not to pussyfoot around with the Europeans—France and Britain—but to tell them bluntly: We are not going to stand for this, we are going to begin arming the Bosnians ourselves.

This program of "more of the same only thicker" was delivered in resolute tone but made no impression on London and Paris. In response to Senator Dole's accusations that Britain bears the main responsibility for the fact that there has been no resolute NATO strike against the Serbs, British Defense Secretary Malcolm Rifkind said that the behavior of "certain U.S. politicians is simply dishonest."

"I think that given the presence of thousands of courageous British soldiers some of whom have given their lives for the sake of peace in Bosnia, it is simply wrong and shameful for certain people to express criticism like this when they come from countries which have not sent a single soldier to take part in operations on the ground," the defense secretary said.

France and Britain have committed around 10,000 servicemen to ground operations. However, these countries categorically reject the possibility of their troops' involvement in the fighting on one of the sides. They say that the soldiers' mission is to enable the humanitarian aid convoys to get through and they are continuing to do that.

In the U.S. press there have been amazingly few commentaries on the dramatic change of approach toward former Yugoslavia. In the main, these commentaries have come from those observers who campaigned and continue to campaign for a tough line toward the Serbs and who created the propaganda background for the U.S. policy whose failure became apparent last week. They criticize the administration's vacillations—although at the moment more in sorrow than anger.

However, the main thesis can be seen through the sorrow. It is being said that Bosnia has been betrayed and, what is more, shamelessly and disgracefully. However, not by America but by the Europeans, first and foremost the French and the British. By appeasing the aggressor they are repeating the mistake of Munich and will pay dearly for it. "If no one is willing to supply [podderzhat] Sarajevo who will be willing to die for Danzig?" William Safire asks rhetorically in THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Safire is an intelligent man, an intellectual, and an aesthete who understands perfectly well that a vital element is missing for a repetition of Danzig and Munich in Europe—Hitler. However, Radovan Karadzic is no world conqueror.

That is why this smart intellectual resorts to the following body of evidence to prove his case. Kissinger and Brzezinski, he says, are "deep geothinkers" who claim that Russia is "authoritarian at heart and expansionist by habit; with its educated population and vast resources—now unencumbered by Communist baggage—Russia will again rise to superpowerhood, and is manifestly destined to look west and south to realize its age-old aspirations." [Safire says: "to fill its irredental caries."]

This is what the Europeans have to understand and what they do not understand. If they continue with the impudent demands that U.S. soldiers should take part along with the French and the British-Ukrainian-Bangladeshi soldiers, the reply is ready: "If the U.S.' NATO partners laugh at its leadership in the Balkans, why maintain a major force there at all? Why promise to participate in a

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European nuclear war? America's front line is no longer Europe; it is the skies over America."

Strictly speaking, on the basis of modern history we can predict when that line is going to recede to the skies over America. Vietnam and Iraq are the poles—and the points of departure.

The Gulf War was ideal from the U.S. viewpoint and the United States will always be ready to repeat that experiment. The following preconditions are necessary for that:

—America's real national interests must be injured: oil is more important than prestige;

—There must be an international coalition, one which, moreover, does not tie the Americans' hands;

—There must be rich clients ready to foot the ever increasing bill for a U.S. army which is accustomed to a special level of comfort;

—The theater of war must ensure the possibility of the use of the technical (electronic) superiority of the U.S. war machine. Given the importance of public opinion in the United States, it is also important that the civilian population be kept apart from the center of combat operations;

—And the U.S. army must face a rival who is known to be demoralized; low morale is more important than numerical strength.

Even this fleeting analysis shows that Bosnia is not one of those occasions when the United States can venture to become embroiled in combat actions. Hence the skepticism about the U.S. leadership which has become so obvious in Europe on the eve of the Budapest conference.

America was given the status of the first and only superpower for free, by virtue of the USSR's disappearance into oblivion. It is not clear whether Russia is going to be a superpower. However, there are ever increasing doubts as to whether U.S. leadership will be universally recognized in the future.

Yeltsin Demands End To Abuse of Citizens' Rights in Baltics

LD0512210394 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2036 GMT 5 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Aleksandrova, Sergey Zhirnikhin, Yuriy Sizov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Budapest, 5 Dec—The repeated appeals by Russia to the CSCE on a question of such sensitivity to Russia as the question of flagrant violations of human rights in Estonia and Latvia have not had any effect.

This was stated today by the Russian president in reply to a question from journalists about humanitarian aspects of the all-European process after the evening session of heads of states and governments of the CSCE countries.

An instrument has not yet been devised with the aid of which the rights of the Russian population in these states might be defended, he stressed.

We have constantly indicated that democracy starts with respect for human rights, Boris Yeltsin continued. At one time the Soviet Union was accused and now Russia accuses those states where human rights are violated and it demands that they be protected.

Yeltsin Directive Suspends Some Sanctions Against Serbia

MM0512141194 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 94 First Edition p 4

[Russian President's Directive No. 593-rp, signed by President B. Yeltsin and dated 22 November 1994: "On Measures Connected with the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 943 of 23 September 1994"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the coming into force of UN Security Council Resolution 943 of 23 September 1994, all state establishments, industrial, trade, financial, and transport enterprises, firms, banks, organizations, and private individuals under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation are to proceed in their activity from the fact that, from 5 October 1994 and until a special directive, the following measures introduced by the UN Security Council in accordance with Resolutions 757 (1992) and 820 (1993) with regard to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and envisaged by the Russian President's directives No. 362-rp of 14 July 1992 and 516-rp of 23 July 1993 are suspended:

a) The restrictions prescribed in Paragraph 7 of UN Security Council Resolution 757 (1992), Paragraph 24 of UN Security Council Resolution 820 (1993) with regard to aircraft [letatelnyy apparat] not impounded by the date of adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 943 and in other relevant resolutions which apply to the supply of goods and services with regard to all civil passenger flights into and out of Belgrade airport solely carrying passengers and personal possessions but excluding freight with the exception of those instances authorized according to the procedures of the Committee instituted in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 724 (1991);

b) The restrictions prescribed in Paragraphs 24 and 28 of UN Security Council Resolution 820 (1993) and in other relevant resolutions which apply to the supply of goods and services with regard to ferry transport between Bar in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and Bari in Italy solely for the transport of passengers and personal possessions but excluding freight with the exception of those instances authorized

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by the procedures of the Committee instituted in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 724 (1991);

c) Measures prescribed in Subparagraphs "b" and "c" of Paragraph 8 of UN Security Council Resolution 757 (1992) with regard to participation in sports contests and cultural exchanges.

[signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation

[dated] 22 November 1994

No. 593-rp

Envoy: Bosnian Muslims Reject Serbs' Right to Confederation

LD0512163694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1502 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo has rejected the decision of the latest session of the contact group of foreign ministers, taken in Brussels, on granting equal rights to the three peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Russian embassy in Zagreb told INTERFAX by telephone that such a position had been expressed by Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic during his talks with American envoy Charles Redman last Sunday.

A diplomat of the Russian embassy said that the Bosnian Muslims had not renounced the earlier approved plan of the contact group, envisaging a 49 to 51 percent division of Bosnia-Herzegovina between the Serb and Muslim-Croat communities. "Sarajevo believes, however, that there can be no talk about amending or enlarging this plan unless the third side (the Bosnian Serbs—INTERFAX) accepts it," said the diplomat.

The Muslims argue, he continued, that the international mediators had proposed this plan, guided by the "take it or leave it" principle. "We have taken it, although we were not fully pleased with the territorial division," the Sarajevo authorities said.

The ministerial meeting of the contact group, held on December 2, actually documented the Bosnian Serbs' right to confederation with Yugoslavia. Earlier, the Muslim-Croat community's right to confederation with Croatia had been recognized.

The source in the Russian embassy said that Sarajevo finds it possible to adjust the peace plan exclusively within the framework of the trilateral Bosnian-Muslim-Croat talks.

The diplomat said that the Croat government had not officially responded to the results of the Brussels meeting of the contact group. "However, the local press, including the press expressing the position of the Zagreb authorities, sharply criticized the decision of the contact group," he said.

"The newspapers argue, that the Bosnian Serbs are aggressors and cannot have the same rights as their victims—the Muslims and the Croats," he said.

Ambassador to Kazakhstan Talks on Relations

LD0512140494 Almaty PANORAMA in Russian 26 Nov 94 p6

[Article under headline: "Russia considers relations with Kazakhstan a priority; Vyacheslav Dolgov, ambassador of the Russian Federation to Kazakhstan, answers Panorama's questions"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [PANORAMA] What is Kazakhstan's place in Russia's foreign policy? How do you assess today's level of our mutual relations?

[Dolgov] Russia considers relations with Kazakhstan to be a priority in all areas of our cooperation. You know, in the case of Russia and Kazakhstan, we have a really unique range of all the objective prerequisites and factors which predetermine the natural and regular choice of the peoples of our countries, not only to revive but to increase bilateral cooperation in the new conditions on the a basis of mutual advantage and partnership. This is an objective necessity.

One can note with satisfaction the unity and proximity of the original principles of reforming the economies and building democratic societies in Russia and Kazakhstan. However, in these complicated conditions, our countries have immediately made a good start in the sphere of bilateral relations. Over a period of three years, a solid contractual and legal foundation has been laid. Over 100 treaties and agreements have been signed in various areas of bilateral relations. First and foremost, they are the agreement on friendship, cooperation, and mutual understanding. Several more important agreements were signed in March this year during the Russia-Kazakhstan summit talks in Moscow. Now new ones are being developed.

[PANORAMA] Several problems in relations between our countries have given rise to the opinion that certain negative attitudes exist toward Kazakhstan within Russia's political leadership. There is also the opinion that several politicians in Moscow have not overcome the imperial syndrome in their attitude toward the CIS neighboring republics. How does this opinion correspond to the real state of affairs?

[Dolgov] Priorities are quite often being redefined in our countries. Accordingly they need to be agreed and upheld. All these natural remnants of the transition period are removed by the parties in the process of practical constant contacts and talks at political and other levels. Each side is of course asserting its own state interests, and Russia also has its own interests. It pursues policies based on international norms, treaties, and agreements signed within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States and bilateral Russia-Kazakhstan agreements.

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The imperial syndrome: An unprejudiced observer can hardly accuse us of such. It is enough to be acquainted with the documents of the last CIS Moscow summit in order to be persuaded of the artificiality of the thesis of the imperial syndrome with regard to Russia, and also the other members of the CIS.

The principle basis of Russia's relations with the CIS countries, both on a bilateral level and within the CIS framework, is voluntariness, mutual benefit, and mutual reckoning of each others' interests. [passage omitted]

[PANORAMA] What is the current state of affairs and the possible prospects for talks on the problem of dual citizenship?

[Dolgov] As is well known, issues regarding the defense of human rights are among the most important components of Russia's foreign policy. Our country is against introducing into practice a selective approach to native and non-native people who are the citizens of one country and have traditionally lived on a given territory. Here the question is not about any privileges for ethnic minorities, but about the consistent implementation of the basic principles of the Declaration on the Rights of Ethnic Minorities, adopted by the United Nations in 1994.

So, the main aim of the present Russia-Kazakhstan talks process on the issues of citizenship is to create equal and mutually acceptable conditions for the citizens of our countries. In this sphere, the elaboration and preparation of a document is being completed for signing on the legal status of citizens of the two countries permanently residing on each other's territory. [passage omitted: ambassador discusses support program for Russians living abroad; no reference to Kazakhstan]

[PANORAMA] There has recently been an increasing amount of discussion about real steps toward the integration of our countries. What is your opinion about the current state of this problem?

[Dolgov] The question of restoring and increasing full cooperation, of integration under the new conditions of the market economy, and of giving this economy new forms and content, is now on the agenda. Focused work has already started on various levels here.

Take the area of space exploration. The international crew of Yuriy Malenchenko, Talgat Musabayev, and Ulf Merbold have just successfully completed a flight. Agreements specifying all the details regarding the lease of the Baykonur Cosmodrome have now been prepared and more launches are to come.

Russia and Kazakhstan are conducting active negotiations on the entire complex of mutual economic relations. The issue of cooperation between Russia and Kazakhstan on developing the Karachaganak oilfield bordering on Orenburg Region has been virtually resolved. Large-scale promising agreements on trade, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation have recently been signed by the Moscow and Alma-Ata [Almaty] administrations. Very important accords have been reached on military cooperation between our countries. The drafting of new agreements in this sphere is also actively under way.

Of course, we consider that the agreements recently reached in Moscow at the Council of CIS Heads of State on the establishment of an interstate economic body offer great prospects for the development of bilateral and multilateral relations within the CIS framework.

Russia is open to all initiatives on integration, and is ready to raise the level of interaction to whatever level our CIS partners agree to. A number of fundamental decisions were made within the framework of the accords establishing the Interstate Economic Committee, as well as within the prospective program for intensifying the Commonwealth states' economic integration.

[PANORAMA] It is known that elections are upcoming in Russia. Such events are usually accompanied by an intensification of various forces, including extremist and political ones. Will this not have an effect on relations between our countries?

[Dolgov] To attempt to predict the possible results of the elections would be inappropriate. As for the relationship between Russia and Kazakhstan, that is based on centuries of traditions, and it is our job is to promote its development to the maximum, bearing in mind the immense partially unused potential. This is a task not only for today but also for the future.

[PANORAMA] An atmosphere of political nervousness continues to surround a number of organizations representing the Russian-speaking population in Kazakhstan. Can Russia do anything to defuse the tension surrounding these associations? After all, it is Russia to which they appeal in their actions.

[Dolgov] Our starting point is that the issue of the position and problems of the Cossacks and Russians living in Kazakhstan must not be allowed to come to a head. Specific steps must be taken in order to achieve mutual understanding throughout the entire range of problems that have built up, and we must work from the fundamental interests of strengthening friendship between the peoples of Russia and Kazakhstan.

[PANORAMA] On the international scene, Kazakhstan and Russia act as allies. Yet recently there have been signs of differing approaches to certain problems, specifically over the Caspian Sea issue. Is this a trend or a special case?

[Dolgov] As far as the Caspian problem is concerned, it is primarily a legal problem. What is involved is the international legal status of the Caspian Sea, which now needs to be reviewed.

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Chechnya, Azerbaijan Deny Reports About Mercenaries

LD0512180194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1701 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—Chechen and Azerbaijani authorities denied reports on Monday [5 December] that foreign mercenaries had been flown into Chechnya via Azerbaijan to support embattled Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev.

"No planes with militants have arrived in Groznyy and could not arrive because all airports in Chechnya are destroyed," a Chechen Army top official said on Monday.

"These statements are groundless," Azerbaijani Defence Ministry spokesman Nurulla Aliyev said. He said that the Republic's Air Force aircraft remain at their bases and have not left Azerbaijan's territory.

A representative of the Azerbaijani airlines said that air service with Chechnya was severed about two years ago and no planes have crossed Azerbaijan's airspace in the direction of Chechnya since then.

The statements followed a report issued by the Russian provisional information centre for Chechnya which quoted "well informed sources" as saying that terrorists were being flown to Chechnya by a commercial flight from Ukraine via Azerbaijan.

The report also said that one of the planes carrying mercenaries was shot down by Chechen opposition troops. It went on to say that up to 300 armed terrorists had arrived in Chechnya over the last few days of November.

Iranians Favors Negotiations Over Chechenya

LD0612110894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1023 GMT 6 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tehran December 6 TASS—Iran believes that the Chechen problem must be resolved at a negotiating table, without the use of power methods. This is said in a statement of the Iranian Foreign Ministry circulated on Tuesday.

The statement says that "while Tehran has no intention of interfering in internal affairs of other countries, it cannot remain indiferrent to destinies of Moslems". The resumption of fighting in the Caucasus will damage stability and security in the entire region, the statement says.

This approach of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the conflict between Chechnya and Russia was formulated by Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati at a recent meeting with reporters, the statement says.

Grachev on 'Conspiracy,' Yeltsin's Future

BR0612123394 Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 9 Dec 94 p 103

[Interview with Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev by Savik Shuster in Moscow; date not given: "Boris? After Him, a Bloodbath"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [introductory passage omitted] In his recent book, "President's Diary," Boris Yeltsin criticized Grachev for the excessive slowness of his intervention [to storm the White House in October 1993].

"That criticism is unfair," the minister told L'ESPRESSO, as he sat behind his desk in his spacious office a few steps away from the Kremlin. "On the evening of 3 October, when shooting was already going on in Moscow, Yeltsin came to see me and gathered a number of ministers and staff generals round this very table. Some wanted the assault to begin right away. I opposed it. My opinion was that it would be too dangerous to fight at night. We would have suffered many losses among the population. In the end they heeded me."

[Shuster] General, on 10 October this year the journalist, Dmitriy Kholodov, was murdered. He was a reporter investigating corruption in your ministry. The public has attacked you over it. Some have accused you of in practice ordering the murder. President Yeltsin has defended you up to the hilt. But you have spoken in terms of a conspiracy. A conspiracy by whom?

[Grachev] By the forces—very powerful ones—that do not like the close links between the president and the Army. You see, at the moment a fierce power struggle is going on in the country. Can you imagine what would happen if the Defense Ministry were to come under the control of a mafia-type or fascist organization?

[Shuster] Is such a scenario feasible?

[Grachev] Definitely. If that happened, it would no longer be a civil war, such as that which we almost experienced during the rising led by Rustkoy and Khasbulatov in October 1993, but an outright bloodbath.

[Shuster] Who are these fascist and mafia-type forces? Could you be more specific?

[Grachev] I must point out that some radical-democrats of the Vybor Rossii ("Russia's Choice", Yegor Gaydar's reformist party—L'ESPRESSO editor's note) have attacked me particularly fiercely.

[Shuster] But you are talking about a political force that has always fought for democracy and has always supported Boris Yeltsin. Does that mean that the president's democratic potential is exhausted?

[Grachev] It is by no means exhausted. Boris Yeltsin remains the only force that guarantees stability in Russia.

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[Shuster] So you are arguing that President Yeltsin's close circle of aides are destabilizing the country, against his will. Is that not a bizarre situation?

[Grachev] Certainly. It is no coincidence that Yeltsin decided to cut back his administration by 30 percent. Aides who are not loyal to the principles of democracy will have to go.

[Shuster] General, the newspaper, MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, for which poor Dmitriy Kholodov used to work, went as far as to carry a headline containing a nickname applied to you: "Pavel, Mr. Mercedes." Why do you use not a Russian-made car but a Mercedes—a car that in the Russians' eyes is a symbol of excessive luxury?

[Grachev] Because in 1989 the then USSR government forbade its ministers to use Zil or Chayka cars. They were too big and too long. So they were conspicuous and irritated people. The trouble is that they were the only cars that could accommodate all the communications equipment that a defense minister needs. So the Mercedes is not a luxury but an outright mobile command center from which I could, if necessary, press the button to start a nuclear war. Furthermore, there are now so many Mercedes in our country that mine really is not conspicuous.

[Shuster] Minister, let us talk about your fiercest adversaries. General Aleksandr Lebed, commander of the 14th Army, a tough and uncompromising man for whom many predict a great political and military future, has been saying that you are damaging the Armed Forces.

[Grachev] Somebody is manipulating Lebed. Someone who is persuading him to throw himself into politics because the country supposedly expects a providential leader such as himself. Lebed apparently believes it. If he carries on this way, we will be forced to present him with a choice between the Army and politics.

[Shuster] Many people are demanding that the Defense Ministry be headed by a civilian, as is the case in all other democratic countries. You oppose this, however. Why?

[Grachev] Because only solid and stable countries can allow themselves to separate the political management of the armed forces from their operational management. For the present I am performing both tasks. And I would like to say to our politicians: To appoint a civilian defense minister now would lead to the humiliation of the Russian Armed Forces.

U.S. Military Budget, Doctrine Strike 'Russophobic' Echo

MM0512152994 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Dec 94 p 3

[Report by Yevgeniy Popov: "Pentagon's Budget Increased by $25 Billion. Clinton on the Warpath"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the Democrats' crushing defeat in the November midterm elections, U.S. President Bill Clinton is apparently trying his very best to show—in the spirit of the well-known saying "more Catholic than the Pope"—that essentially he is an even bigger Republican hawk than, for example, Senator Robert Dole, who is well known for his extremist views. Having flabbergasted his NATO partners with his "Bosnian initiative" akin to letting a bull loose in a china store—unilaterally lifting the embargo on delivering arms to the Muslims—Clinton has made another move in the same spirit. He has announced a significant $25 million a year increase in the U.S. military budget.

Until now the United States had adhered to a strategic concept whereby its Armed Forces must be permanently ready to simultaneously conduct "one and a half wars": one large-scale and another so-called "small" war, associated with a limited, localized military conflict. Now, however, the White House is adopting a policy of ensuring combat readiness for two wars simultaneously.

The new doctrine reflects the outlooks of such political scientists notorious for their Russophobic views as, for example, Zbigniew Brzezinski, former U.S presidential national security adviser, who stated back in 1992:

"The Cold War ended in victory for one side and defeat for the other. This reality cannot be denied, despite the fact that this conclusion will, of course, hurt the feelings of certain former leaders of the defeated country. The most important thing is that the Soviet Union disintegrated by itself and Central Europe is now a geopolitical vacuum. The former Soviet Army is being demobilized and is already demoralized. The unity of Russia itself could soon be in doubt.... The economic and even the political future of what was not so long ago a formidable superpower is now increasingly falling under virtual Western guardianship. Just like during the end of previous wars, a clearly distinguishable moment of capitulation is taking place. This moment most probably came in Paris 19 November 1990. At a conference marked by outward displays of friendship, designed to disguise the actual reality...."

This testimony of an expert, who was a White House adviser for a quarter of a century, acquires new topicality in the light of recent events. The fig leaf that goes under the name of Clinton's "Partnership for Peace" doctrine is being cast aside as unwanted: The geopolitical vacuum in Central and East Europe—in the Warsaw Pact's former sphere of operation—will be filled by a rapid expansion of NATO as early as in the next few years: After the North Atlantic alliance has been joined by the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, and then the Baltic states.

This aim has been proclaimed, it is no longer being disguised, although the United States and the West are probably, as was the case with Gorbachev, prepared not to stint in "outward displays of friendship" with Boris Yeltsin, maybe even in the next few days at the meeting

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of CSCE leaders in Budapest. But the actual crux of the matter will be the same as in Paris in November 1990: the signing of the terms of capitulation, this time a full and final one.

Kozyrev's demarche designed for propaganda effect in Brussels, where he refused to sign the document on the principles of relations between NATO and Russia, was most probably merely a kind of smoke screen prior to this act.

Commenting on this mis-en-scene, which is meant to show that Russia still has an independent and autonomous foreign policy, BBC observer Jonathan Marcus expressed the reasonable supposition that Kozyrev's position (like Defense Minister Grachev's statement made in the same spirit) is dictated by Russia's domestic situation. He recalled recent events—after the announcement of Clinton's "Partnership for Peace" doctrine Russian diplomacy also behaved a bit capriciously for propriety's sake, then it nonetheless supported Washington.

Kokoshin, French Defense Official Discuss Cooperation

LD0512183094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Russian First Deputy Defense Minister Andrey Kokoshin has received in Moscow the director of the French Defense Ministry's strategic problems department, Jacques-Claude Malais.

The meeting centered on ways to step up the two nations' cooperation to strengthen international security and strategic stability, the Russian Defense Ministry said in a media report, obtained by Interfax. The crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina was also discussed.

The meeting was attended by the French ambassador to Russia, Pierre Morel, senior officials of both countries' defense ministries and top officers of their general staffs.

Chemical Union Head on Ratification of Chemical Weapons Ban

LD0512200794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1942 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Russian Union for Chemical Security is seeking Russia's ratification of the international convention on banning chemical weapons, the union's chairman, Lev Fyodorov, told a news conference in Moscow Monday [5 December].

According to Fyodorov, the convention's ratification is hampered by the military, while the publication of materials on tests of chemical weapons on human beings is impeded by their "totally confidential character."

The news conference was informed of tests of chemical weapons on human beings and the after-effects of their destruction on the test ground in Shikhany, the Saratov region.

The chairman of the Saratov Union for Chemical Security, Vladimir Petrenko, whose health was affected by tests of chemical weapons in 1982 said that an unauthorized destruction of chemical weapons was carried out in Shikhany this year. He cited information contained in a medical evaluation of the reasons of mass cutaneous, neurological and ulcer diseases in the region.

The international convention on banning chemical weapons was signed by 132 countries in 1993. However, many of them, including the U.S. and Russia, have not yet ratified it.

Yeltsin Praises Ukraine for Joining NPT

LD0512165694 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1435 GMT 5 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Lyudmila Aleksandrovna, Sergey Zhimikhin, Yuriy Sizov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Budapest, 5 Dec—At the Budapest summit today Boris Yeltsin called Ukraine's joining the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty [NPT] and the implementation of START I "a turning-point in the whole issue of reducing the nuclear threat and in providing for historic reductions in nuclear weapons."

"This has become possible," Boris Yeltsin said, "thanks to the joint efforts of Russia, the United States, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus."

The Russian leader said that Belarus and Kazakhstan "have decisively joined the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty as nonnuclear states."

"Our Ukrainian friends have taken an important step. Today, they gave Russia, the United States, and Great Britain a document confirming that they are joining this most important treaty."

Like Ukraine's obligations, which were laid down in the Lisbon Protocol, and in the Memorandum on Security Guarantees signed today, this step provides the international community with definite, final proof that this country has opted for nonnuclear status. We hope that Ukraine's obligations as a nonnuclear state will be fully implemented without any exceptions.

We think, the Russian president said, "that in their turn, the security guarantees to Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus affirmed today by the depositories of the treaty will strengthen the former's confidence in the wisdom of the nuclear-free choice. Russia gave such guarantees, taking account, first of all, of the special, fraternal relations with our neighbors and partners in the CIS."

We are proceeding along the path of nuclear disarmament together. Russia want movement in this direction to be irreversible. With the entry into force of START I,

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prospects are opening up for the ratification of a new and even more radical agreement on cutting nuclear arms—START II.

"Today, through joint efforts, we have noticeably strengthened the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. What is important now is that the decision to extend that treaty unconditionally should be adopted at the 1995 Conference."

In reply to a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent, the Russian president stressed that he is satisfied with the start of the talks' process at the CSCE and with the first results achieved.

The Russian leader is to have meetings with the leaders of Canada, France, and Slovakia after the interval of the CSCE plenary session, an ITAR-TASS correspondent learned from well-informed sources.

Leghari Ends PRC Visit, Discusses Nuclear Cooperation

OW0612103494 Moscow Voice of Russia World Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 5 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] After concluding his visit to China, Pakistani President Leghari issued a statement in Beijing. He said: [words indistinct] He pointed out: Pakistan hopes to acquire China's technology on building a nuclear power station. In 1991, Chinese engineers helped Pakistan build a 300-megawatt nuclear power station. During his meetings with Chinese leaders, Leghari pointed out the imbalance in the trade between Pakistan and China. He called on China to increase the quantity of its purchases of traditional Pakistani products, such as the raw material of cotton and leather and other foodstuffs.

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Political Issues

'Most' Group Brings Lawsuit Over Special Unit's Actions

LD0512134394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1312 GMT 5 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Shcherban]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—A criminal case was opened on December 3 on the complaint from Vladimir Gusinskiy, leader of the "Most" group which was blocked by a special unit in the building of the Moscow mayor's office in Novy Arbat Street on December 2. The case was instituted by Moscow's Presnenskiy District Prosecutor's Office and immediately passed to the Russian general prosecutor's office, ITAR-TASS was told by Vladimir Volobuyev, deputy prosecutor of the Presnenskiy District. Volobuyev declined to comment on whether the passing of the case was correct.

The case was launched on charges of Article 171 of the Russian Criminal Code ("overstepping of power or authority of office"), the wrongdoing which carries a sentence of up to ten years in prison "if it was associated with violence, use of arms or acts distressing to the victim and insulting to personal dignity of the victim." The suit claims the "most" group was exposed to such acts on December 2.

Security Forces Issue Joint Statement on Armed Motorcade

LD0512202194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1944 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Russian president's bodyguard service and Russia's Chief Guard Administration have issued a joint report for the mass media to explain last Friday's [2 December] obscure assault on a bank office in Moscow.

"On December 2, a detail of the Bodyguard Service of the president of the Russian Federation, jointly with Interior Ministry services, conducted an operation to check a report that a motorcade carrying unidentified armed persons had appeared on a motor road that comes within a zone for which federal state security bodies are responsible," says the report, obtained by INTERFAX.

"As a result, several persons were detained for bearing firearms. It is currently being checked whether (the detainees) were authorized to bear weapons, (portable) radio sets and identification cards of officers of the Moscow city Interior Administration," the report says.

"The checking of the financial transactions of the MOST group (the bank that was raided) was not the purpose of the operation," it says.

A source close to President Boris Yeltsin has denied the Interior Ministry's involvement in what happened last Friday. Press reports that Yeltsin knew that such an operation was being planned are also untrue, the source told INTERFAX. The bodyguard service "apparently carried out the operation off its own bat," he said.

Text of Chernomyrdin on Chechnya Settlement

MM0612103194 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Dec 94 First Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin by RIA NOVOSTI; place and date not given: "Chernomyrdin: To Find a Peaceful, Fitting Solution"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] Viktor Stepanovich, the deadline set by Russian President B. Yeltsin for the opposing sides in Chechnya to end the bloodshed and embark on disarmament has expired. How do you rate the situation at present?

[Chernomyrdin] With restrained optimism. Grounds for optimism consist in the fact that the president's appeal has had an effect. According to reports from Chechnya, clashes between the sides there have, in general, ceased. The said restraint is determined by the fact that this is only the beginning. It will probably be possible somewhat later to speak of a full cease-fire. In addition, success at this stage will depend on progress in disarming the illegal formations.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] It is no secret that in recent days many people have been preparing for the fact that a state of emergency will be introduced in Chechnya, troops will be sent in, and combat operations will begin. Is such a development of events possible?

[Chernomyrdin] The introduction of a state of emergency really is an extreme, emergency measure; there is no question of that now and nor, hopefully, will there be so in the future. All efforts are now concentrated on finding a peaceful and fitting solution to the problems by means of negotiation. The aim of the federal power is to end the rampage of violence in Chechnya and the constant overt violations of the Russian Constitution and laws. Various methods can be used for this, but the chief thing is to ensure, at last, that people in Chechnya have conditions for a normal life. You understand, it is not a question of any repression against the Chechen Republic. It is a question exclusively of restoring law and order on a part of the Russian Federation's territory. The question consists in ensuring the unity of Russia's constitutional area and in guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of Russian citizens, regardless of nationality.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] How, in your opinion, will events develop in the future?

[Chernomyrdin] A great deal will depend on the course of the talks. Understandably, we cannot emerge overnight from the very profound crisis, a virtual catastrophe, in which Chechnya has ended up. Unfortunately, we have seen for ourselves, from our own experience—and not only our own—that the peace process is a very

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complex thing. Right now, when tackling problems of the confiscation of illegal weapons, we must think, for example, about how to help the long-suffering people rebuild the economy. For it has been destroyed almost to its foundations and will have to be built up again almost from scratch. This means that oil refineries, machine-building plants, oil pipelines, schools, and stores must start working. A decision has been made to send food and consumer goods to Chechnya. This will be the next step toward the full normalization of the situation. Of course, everything possible must be done to hold democratic elections of the organs of power—a power which will be recognized by everyone—in Chechnya in the very near future. The chaos and the rampant crime have prompted the president to assume responsibility for the restoration of legality in the republic. As you see, all this is very complex. But it is perfectly possible to travel the whole path if there is a sincere desire to live in peace, to work normally, and not to fear for one's life and one's home. The Chechen people, the Russians, and the representatives of other nationalities resident in Chechnya have this desire. People yearn for a normal life.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] How do you see the future government of Chechnya?

[Chernomyrdin] It is exclusively the people of Chechnya who are to decide this. What the government or parliament there will be like is not up to me. I am interested in the peaceful election of the ruling power, in honest and truly democratic elections. No one wants to divide Chechens into "good" and "bad." The only possible criterion is observance of the law. At the same time, on no account must we proceed from the premise that the fulfillment of the demands of the law—the surrender of weapons, for example—is some form of capitulation. No, these are the normal actions of Russian citizens complying with the law. So I can unequivocally declare that there will be no political repression or restrictions in Chechnya. Moreover, we are directly interested in cooperation with all the healthy forces of Chechen society. The central authorities certainly are not seeking "to trample" absolutely everything in Chechnya. Therefore we proceed from the premise that the Chechens should forget their grudges, "roll up their sleeves," and set to work.

[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA] If, nonetheless, the situation in Chechnya becomes exacerbated and reaches the point of clashes with the forces of law and order, will this not lead to the emergence of a "second Caucasian war"?

[Chernomyrdin] No. In general, it is wrong to draw analogies in history. Today we are in a situation fundamentally different from the epoch of the Caucasian War. It is now a question of restoring law and order in an inalienable part of the Russian Federation. It is not a war or any kind of interstate problem. It is the state power's normal reaction to lawlessness perpetrated on the country's territory. This is the first point. Second, even if somebody would very much like to do so, it will not be possible to spread instability and conflicts to the whole of the North Caucasus. Everything indicates that the peoples of the region seek not conflicts but peaceful relations and a peaceful life within the framework of Russia. The events in Chechnya are of a local nature and, if necessary, all measures will be taken to protect the neighboring republics from attempts to "export instability." I will add that appropriate measures have also been taken in connection with the threats of some sort of "retribution" which have issued from Chechnya. So there are no serious grounds for concern about a "new war" in the Caucasus. This does not mean, however, that there are no problems at all in the North Caucasus. There are problems and contradictions. They did not arise only yesterday but are the results of the complex history of the entire region and the country as a whole. We must draw lessons from the events of past years. We must probably think about creating a system for peacefully resolving the interconnected national, territorial, cultural, and economic problems of the North Caucasus. At the same time it would be very useful to make use of the local ancient and wise traditions of multilateral negotiations, congresses of respected people and various leaders, and permanent consultations. If we succeed in forming such a common forum, a kind of "security council" of the peoples of the North Caucasus, it seems to me that it will be possible to avoid a repetition of many mistakes in the future.

Yeltsin Aide Discusses Khasbulatov's Political Future

LD0512203694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1914 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] "Ruslan Khasbulatov is incapable of heading the unification process in Chechnya either during the period of transition or during the post-Dudayev time," said Vadim Pechenev, a well-known expert in the political science, a professor and the deputy head of the department of work with territories under the Russian president's administration.

Pechenev said in an exclusive interview with Interfax that Khasbulatov had shown himself as a politician of confrontation and a dilettante in big politics.

Furthermore, "Khasbulatov maintains the reputation of a 'Moscow Chechen' living mostly outside the republic's limits," Pechenev said.

He said possible appearance of Khasbulatov in the parliament as a Chechen envoy would be undesirable for a normal development of the situation in Chechnya as "he already showed that he could not adequately communicate with the federal power within the context of an emergency situation."

However, member of the Presidential Council Leonid Smirnyagin said he believed that "nothing horrible would happen if Khasbulatov became the Chechen head of state. He is unlikely to take an anti-Moscow stand and

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he would become a crystallizer of the opposition forces in the Federation Council." At the same time, Smirnyagin said that "Khasbulatov cannot be a guarantor for keeping Chechnya within the composition of Russia."

Shumeyko Gives Statement to Press on Chechnya

LD0512154794 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation in Chechnya will be discussed at the 13th session of the Federation Council on 6 December. Information by Petr Shirshov, chairman of the committee on defense and security, will be heard behind closed doors, Vladimir Shumeyko, speaker of the upper house of the Federal Assembly, said at a news conference today. He gave a statement to the press on introducing a state of emergency in Chechnya. You will hear the details now.

[Begin Shumeyko recording] The support lent to the Chechen opposition forces led by Umar Avturkhanov by individual Russian state figures was not only an unforgivable error and political short-sightedness but it also ended once and for all the possibility of holding talks with Dudayev on the status and powers of the Chechen Republic.

It is essential to begin other talks immediately, talks on resolving military confrontation peacefully, without fresh loss of life, without bloodshed—talks on the conditions for giving the peaceful population a normal life. At the decision of the Security Council, these talks are to be held under the leadership of the Government of the Russian Federation in conditions of complete military isolation in the Chechen Republic. Subunits of frontier and interior troops of the armed forces of the Russian Federation are concentrated along the frontier of the Chechen Republic, not in order to wage war against the Chechen people but to create an insurmountable barrier to prevent weapons, ammunition, military equipment, and so-called volunteers of various nationalities, of various nationalist and religious hues infiltrating Chechnya.

The Federation Council, in agreement with the Government of the Russian Federation, has included its representatives in the commission for holding talks and will make every effort to ensure they are successful. [end recording]

Shumeyko Favors 'Unconditional Talks' With Dudayev

LD0512144394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Federation Council (upper house of Russian parliament) can consider the question of imposing a state of emergency in Chechnya only after talks on the belligerent parties ceasing fire and laying down weapons, Council Speaker Vladimir Shumeyko said.

In a statement issued at a news conference in Moscow on Monday, Shumeyko said the government decision to clamp down a state of emergency in Chechnya follows "attempts at a violent overthrow of the country's constitutional structure and massive disturbances accompanied by violence." In his view, the violent overthrow of the Supreme Soviet of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic on September 6, 1991, led by Dzhokhar Dudayev, could be qualified precisely in such terms.

Shumeyko maintains that since March he has been constantly raising the question of the immediate start of unconditional talks with Dudayev on a power sharing deal with the Chechen Republic "which is an integral part of the Russian Federation".

He described the support rendered to opposition forces led by Umar Avturkhanov by some Russian officials and political leaders not only as "an unpardonable mistake and a lack of political vision," but also as putting "a full stop on prospects for any talks with Dzhokhar Dudayev" at the moment.

The Council Speaker Shumeyko has called for "an immediate start to a different kind of talks on resolving the military confrontation peacefully without a further loss of human life and bloodshed."

He said that such negotiations must be held by the central government under a resolution by the Russian Security Council "in conditions of total military isolation of the territory of the Chechen Republic."

Shumeyko stressed that Russia has concentrated its border guards, security forces and police units around Chechnya not to fight against the Chechens but "to put up an insurmountable barrier against penetration into the republic of illegal weapons, ammunition, military hardware" and so-called volunteers of various ethnicities and religious persuasions.

Grachev Admits Russian Warplanes Bombed Chechnya

LD0512154294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1539 GMT 5 Dec 94

["Urgent"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev said on Monday that Russian warplanes bombed Chechen airfields.

Fedorov: Yeltsin Must Solve Chechnya To Remain in Power

LD0512182894 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] "The only chance for Russian President Boris Yeltsin to last until the next elections, not to speak of winning them, is to immediately establish

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order in the Chechen Republic," the leader of the Liberal Democratic Union December 12, Boris Fedorov, told a news conference in Moscow Monday.

According to Fedorov, Yeltsin must take the most resolute actions under the Russian Constitution "not looking back at anyone's assessments or interpretations, up to the deployment of armed forces on the Chechen territory."

"In fact, gangsters' units are controlling part of the Russian territory - where are the central authorities and their actions?" he pointed out.

Fedorov described as "ridiculous" speculations of Russia's non- participation in the conflict and the idea of talks between the Russian president and Dzhokhar Dudayev. In his opinion, such talks are simply unnecessary as Chechnya is part of Russia.

If the authorities continue to show reluctance to the settlement of the conflict in Chechnya, the conflict could proliferate all over Russia, Fedorov predicted.

Gromov Blames Kremlin 'Blunders' for Crisis in Chechnya

LD0512192194 Moscow NTV in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Dec 94

[Video report by Aleksandr Gerasimov; passages within quotation marks recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Gerasimov] The Russian Federation's Deputy Defense Minister Boris Gromov strongly warned the authorities today against attempts to find a military solution to the Chechen conflict. In his opinion, the use of force by Moscow could bring about a protracted war in the Caucasus, which would develop according to the Afghan scenario.

[Gromov] "Getting involved in yet another hole, shedding blood there again, and I am sure there will be as much blood, so God forbid if it starts again. There will be new prisoners too—we have some today already."

[Gerasimov] Gromov made this statement at a meeting with representatives of veterans of the war in Afghanistan. The general, who has had the most extensive combat experience in the Russian Army, believes that negotiations alone would be able to rectify the Kremlin's blunders in the ethnic policy that has brought about the crisis in Groznyy.

[Gromov] "If we, that is the Russian leadership, had let the Chechen issue slip at some point—and there was indeed an oversight on behalf of the leadership—so then why others, young soldiers and officers who do not have or should not have anything to do with politics at all, should have to rectify the mistakes or blunders of these people or departments?"

[Gerasimov] At the same time, General Gromov—who has been put out of business following the reshuffle in the Defense Ministry—said that his recent appeal to Dzhokhar Dudayev to release the prisoners should not be considered as a start of independent political activity.

[Gromov] "If you believe that liberating the people threatened by death, or something like this, is playing with politics, then probably it is politics. I do not believe it is politics, I believe that it is an ordinary, normal human act."

[Gerasimov] Gromov maintains that the conflict situation in the Defense Ministry will be resolved within the next two weeks. Incidentally, he has refused to comment on his relations with Pavel Grachev.

[Gromov] "There should be dignity in everything, and I should have some too. I cannot talk now, you understand."

State Duma Deputy Lysenko on Chechnya Visit

OW0612001294 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel and Orbita Networks in Russian 1935 GMT 4 Dec 94

[Studio interview with Vladimir Nikolayevich Lysenko, State Duma deputy and chairman of the Republican Party, by Inna Yermilova, from the "Utro" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Yermilova] The guest on our program today is Vladimir Nikolayevich Lysenko, State Duma deputy and chairman of the Republican Party. Vladimir Nikolayevich, you have just returned from Chechnya as a member of the [State Duma] delegation, what is happening there? You saw everything with your own eyes.

[Lysenko] Indeed. You know, the past three days simply flew by. We were quite nervous when we were on our way there, and we saw the terrible picture of Chechnya preparing for war. Everyone, young and old, is talking only about this. It is all they can think of. Everyone is arming.

[Yermilova] What did your delegation manage to achieve?

[Lysenko] During our visit you could say we were the first messengers of peace from Russia. We went to free our lads and to negotiate further conditions for their liberation. We managed to bring two of them to Moscow as the first act of good will; a desire to begin the peace process and talks with Russia.

The second most important part of the visit was that, by our presence, we primarily showed the Chechens that something is changing in Russia; that Russia is ready for a dialogue today. On the other hand, people here in Moscow were waiting for us—both our supporters and our opponents. If we had returned without the prisoners, I assure you those people who favor a war in Chechnya would have said to the President: Well, just take a look,

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they did not bring anybody back, nobody was released. So only a war can solve the problem.

On the other hand, we talked with many responsible people in the power ministries yesterday and many of them were happy that after all it seems that a dialogue can be continued, that war is not inevitable. That is why the most important thing is probably the fact that people are now convinced that we can talk with the Chechen side today. We met with General Dudayev, and I was struck by the fact that he spoke so much about talks. He constantly repeated: Just get the talks started. Agree to two fully competent delegations finally sitting down and talking to one another. He gave us his drafts of documents, his ideas about the issues.

I think that, of course, one cannot over estimate what has happened. It was a small step. We were not authorized by the President. To a great extent it was the deputies' own initiative, although there were talks with [Prime Minister] Chernomyrdin and [State Duma chairman] Rybkin. But the fact is that the visit took place, and while we were in Chechnya the bombing stopped. When they saw that we had arrived and the bombing had stopped, you know, people even asked us: Stay here. While you are here we will have peace. We can see that it is much better while you are here.

[Yermilova] In general, what possible solution do you see?

[Lysenko] I think that if one talks about a strategic prospective plan then it is indisputable that serious talks are essential. I have the feeling that the two earlier irreconcilable positions—full independence for Chechnya and withdrawal from Russia on the one hand, while the Russian side insists that Chechnya has always been part of Russia during the past 100 years and that it is an inalienable part of the Russian Federation—are being brought closer together through the horror of war.

I think that Russia could pursue an option of a very flexible agreement with Chechnya—even possibly more flexible than the one with Tatarstan—in order to give the Chechen people themselves the possibility to decide all their own internal problems, and maybe give them some additional powers. At the same time, as a compromise, the territory of Chechnya should be recognized as part of the Russian Federation like the North Caucasus.

I had the feeling that somehow Dudayev understands that this is the last path to compromise, especially since in the Duma and during the talks we have said that we support free elections in the Chechen Republic, and we support self-determination for the people. I think that these elections, under the control of international observers, could also remove the situation under which the current leadership of Chechnya does not enjoy full legitimacy—there is no parliament and the Constitutional Court was disbanded by General Dudayev last year. So some serious transformations are needed there too.

But I reiterate that there is also an immediate task. We must not permit even one Russian soldier to appear on the territory of the Chechen Republic in a tank or with an automatic weapon, because if this happens the war will promptly grow from a kind of political conflict to a national war. It will not be opposing groups fighting one another; it will be Chechens fighting Russians, and Russians fighting Chechens. Through the experience of Abkhazia I know that all it took was one battalion to change a conflict which concerned only politicians into a war between the Georgians and Abkhazians who had lived on that land for centuries. You know that presently there is practically not a single Georgian remaining on Abkhazian territory.

So, now it is important to prevent and stop any military actions by any means possible. It is important to sit down at the negotiating table, and it is now also very important to carry out a parliamentary investigation—there will be a closed session of the Duma on Thursday [8 December] at which time we will discuss this—to ascertain how, in violation of the constitution, Russian tanks with Russian servicemen found themselves on Chechen territory. We have decided that deputies will constantly make visits now and stand watch in order to prevent a war. I think that all together we will get out of this situation.

[Yermilova] That was Vladimir Nikolayevich Lysenko, chairman of the Republican Party and deputy of the Russian Federation State Duma. Thank you.

[Lysenko] All the best.

Duma Deputies Arrive in Chechnya to Take Place of POW's

LD0612082794 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0752 GMT 6 Dec 94

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] The State Duma has informed us that, late yesterday evening a telephone conversation took place between State Duma members Sergey Yushenkov and Grigoriy Yavlinksiy and Dzhokhar Dudayev on releasing all the hostages in Chechnya. As a result of the telephone conversations an understanding was reached, under which a delegation of 18 people, including 9 State Duma deputies, flew to Chechnya at 0240 this morning.

Sergey Yushenkov stated that he guarantees the safety of the prisoners who returned from Chechnya to Russia. In exchange, five State Duma deputies headed by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy will remain hostage in Groznyy until talks begin on a peaceful settlement of the conflict.

We have just learned that the buses carrying the deputies have crossed the frontier with Chechnya and are moving toward Groznyy.

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Democrats Demand Yeltsin Solve Chechnya Conflict Peacefully

LD0512182494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The faction Russia's Choice of the State Duma and the Russia's Democratic Choice Party believe that Chechnya's problems may and must be solved by peaceful means, but responsibility, professionalism and simple decency are needed for this.

In their statement handed to Interfax, the faction and the party demanded Russian President Boris Yeltsin "solve the issue of measure of punishment for Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, Federal Counterintelligence Service Director Sergey Stepashin, Security Council Secretary Oleg Lobov and Nationalities and Regional Policy Minister Nikolay Yegorov." The president is proposed to carry out "a thorough investigation of the actions of Russian authorities and power structures in Chechnya and bring to account all those involved in the criminal adventure in this republic."

Russia's Choice and Russia's Democratic Choice believe that the attempts to find an outright military solution favor only revanchists and will lead to nothing but bloodshed and establishing a military regime in the country." At the same time, "the Russian authorities must not leave those regions of Chechnya which recognize Russia's jurisdiction and Constitution to their fate," they said.

The Russian power structures must prevent penetration of illegal armed formations and weapons in and out of Chechnya, according to the document.

"Russia has sufficient political and economic resources to prevent proliferation of the conflict," Russia's Choice and Russia's Democratic Choice stated.

Presidential Staff Aide on Citizenship Edict

MM0512140594 Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Nov 94 p2

[Interview with Abdulakh Kasbulatovich Mikitayev, chief of the Russian Federation Presidential Staff Citizenship Issues Administration, by correspondent Igor Ostrovskiy; date and place not given: "A Citizen of Russia—At Home and Abroad"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The mass media are providing lively commentaries on the presidential edict "On Some Questions of Implementing the Russian Federation Law 'On Citizenship of the Russian Federation.'" Many readers have asked us to explain how and to whom its provisions apply. Abdulakh Kasbulatovich Mikitayev, chief of the Russian Federation Presidential Staff Citizenship Issues Administration, answered questions put by your TRUD correspondent.

[Mikitayev] I would like to say a few words about a problem which concerns the president and many state services: Namely, the fate of our compatriots who, for various reasons, have found themselves outside Russia. Even by the most modest estimates, there are currently some 30 million people in this position in CIS countries and the Baltic, 25 million of whom are Russians. They have become representatives of ethnic minorities overnight, and unfortunately their problems are not being dealt with in the framework of normal international relations. All over the world, nations and peoples are drawing closer together and the conditions are being created for people to feel increasingly free. In our case, however, in the countries which have emerged from the ruins of the USSR, basic international agreements and conventions on human and civil rights are still far from implemented in full. We—members of the presidential Commission for Questions of Citizenship and the Presidential Staff Citizenship Issues Administration—are doing everything possible to ensure that Russia tackles these problems in a civilized manner and that all who regard themselves as Russian—irrespective of where they live—are initially at least given the legal status they enjoyed in the former USSR.

[Ostrovskiy] Does the presidential edict also aim to do this?

[Mikitayev] Without a doubt. You obviously know that on 6 February 1992 the Supreme Soviet adopted the Law "On Citizenship of the Russian Federation." Under this law, everyone living in Russian territory on that day was given citizenship. But life is complex, and one law alone cannot satisfy all its demands. Amendments to the law were adopted just one year later, in June 1993.

[Ostrovskiy] What did the amendments concern?

[Mikitayev] There are tens, if not hundreds of thousands of our compatriots all over the world who, for various reasons, have lost their Russian citizenship against their will. An amendment to the law restores the right of these people to Russian citizenship. This right has already been exercised by tens of thousands of Russians living in the far abroad. They have become citizens of the countries where they live.

[Ostrovskiy] So Russia has recognized dual citizenship?

[Mikitayev] Yes, unilaterally. The edict we are discussing extends the right to Russian citizenship to millions of our compatriots. It explains to practical workers how to interpret the law. If you recall, under this law, anyone living in Russian territory on 6 February 1992 is considered to be a citizen of Russia. But this clause of the law does not dovetail with current instructions, according to which the fact of permanent domicile is attested by a residence permit. But what if a person does not have a residence permit for one reason or another? Does he have the right to citizenship or not? The first clause of the edict confirms that citizenship is not linked to possession of a residence permit. If a person can prove that he lives permanently on Russian territory, he has the right to be a citizen of Russia. The second clause of the

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edict concerns those compatriots who left Russia before 6 February 1992: Either because they were serving in the Army, had been assigned to a post after graduating from an academic institution, had been offered work, or had gone to one of the union republics for personal reasons. Henceforth, anyone who was born or has lived in Russian territory has the right to citizenship.

[Ostrovskiy] But does he have to prove it all over again? Prove the fact of permanent domicile before 6 February, prove the fact that he was born or had lived in Russia before that date? If so, how should he go about it?

[Mikitayev] The person concerned may have a birth certificate, a passport indicating the place of issue, or his previous residence permit. If he has none of these documents, he may find and call witnesses in the established procedure. According to our information, the first and second clauses of the presidential edict concern millions of our compatriots who have found themselves outside Russia at the will of fate.

[Ostrovskiy] The edict concerns people who were born or have lived in Russia. But, you must agree, there are many citizens of the former USSR who were born and still live in the former Soviet republics and who considered and still consider themselves to be Russian. They are Russian by nationality, speak Russian, received their education in Russian, and are a vital part of Russian culture. And now, as you say, at the will of fate but against their own will, they find they are citizens of other states, although they want to feel they are Russian and have the right to move to Russia. Can they become citizens of the Russian Federation?

[Mikitayev] Of course. The amendment to the Law on Citizenship mentioned above applies to them. As the legal successor of the USSR, Russia will grant citizenship to people who consider themselves to be Russian.

[Ostrovskiy] Unfortunately, real life is a poor match for the humane provisions of laws and edicts. Our editorial office receives quite a few letters from people complaining that their desire to obtain Russian citizenship comes up against obstinate officials in the militia. As a rule, they link the problem of citizenship to the problem of getting a residence permit for their place of permanent domicile.

[Mikitayev] I repeat: The law does not link residence permits to citizenship. People must have a permanent place of residence in Russia. With family, with friends, in a hotel, a hostel, or an apartment acquired with the right to private ownership.

[Ostrovskiy] But if the militia is aware of this....

[Mikitayev] You are right when you talk about the difficulties encountered by people in Ministry of Internal Affairs bodies. In our view, our main objective must be to ensure strict, precise execution of the law throughout the country. At the insistence of the Russian Federation president's Commission for Questions of Citizenship and our own administration, Minister of Internal Affairs V. Yerin has sent letters of instruction to the provinces on the rules governing the law's practical implementation, amendments to it, and presidential edicts. Our administration is holding a conference of workers from all passport and visa services on 24 November. But the problem is that we mainly deal with middle- and higher-ranking officials at federal, republic, kray, and oblast level, while ordinary people apply to rayon militia departments. We still have a great deal of work to do to ensure that laws are interpreted the same everywhere—from capital cities and large towns to the most remote provincial areas—and that the officials implementing them do not hide behind the letter of the law, but think how to help the suffering people in question.

[Ostrovskiy] I imagine that after our conversation with you is published, we will get another batch of letters relating the rebuffs people received when they tried to refer to your words.

[Mikitayev] Send these letters on to our administration and I promise that, after careful consideration, everyone who has the right will receive Russian citizenship.

[Ostrovskiy] People are also worried that there is little time left. According to the law, they must register their citizenship by 6 February 1995.

[Mikitayev] This period will be extended by another two or three years. Recently, some political forces have tried to use the fate of our compatriots abroad as a trump card in the power struggle. This is amoral, in my view. Russians living abroad are a moral and legal issue, not a political issue. It will not be solved by speculation, but by complex work to improve legislation and the treaty process. It is a question of creating a legal basis which, in time, will become the basis for the future unification of our countries and peoples along the lines of and similar to what is now happening in Europe.

[Ostrovskiy] The process of replacing our traditional passports with documents of a new type will begin at the end of next year. What will these documents be like?

[Mikitayev] A draft law has been prepared and will be submitted to the State Duma in the near future. After a long discussion, all participants in the working group reached the unanimous conclusion that every citizen of Russia must have three basic documents as proof of his identity: Namely, a birth certificate, an identity card, and a passport for foreign travel. I understand that everyone is most interested in the document that will replace the present internal passport. The identity card is a little book whose cover bears the Russian emblem. It is made from quality materials and with the aid of modern printing methods. The basic information will include surname, given name, patronymic, date and place of birth, a photograph, and the citizen's personal code number. The sections on marital status, number of children, and status with regard to military service will disappear. The nationality section will remain. But it will

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only be filled in if the holder of the identity card so wishes. There will be a section for him to register his permanent place of residence with the militia instead of the current residence permit stamp.

[Ostrovskiy] What is a personal code number?

[Mikitayev] We are gradually moving toward universal computer registration of the population. Every citizen will be given a personal code number when he is born, which will stay with him until the end of his days. He will keep the same code number even if his identity card is lost or damaged and has to be renewed. People traveling abroad will be issued with a special passport. In anticipation of possible questions, let me say that people's current foreign passports will remain valid until their expiry date. Only when they expire will they be replaced by the new document. I would like to say that the process of replacing documents will be organized without haste or fuss, so as to avoid commotion and waiting lines.

[Ostrovskiy] Let us return to the subject of the residence permit. The mayor of Moscow and many of his colleagues are categorically opposed to getting rid of it. They say they will not comply with any laws on its elimination.

[Mikitayev] Life will show who is right. It is not the residence permit that guarantees law and order in a city, but well-organized registration of the population. Many countries whose law and order services are not as numerous as ours fight crime more effectively than we do. This is simply because their crime and population registration is better organized. We are proposing computer records, personal code numbers, and registration instead of the residence permit system. Taken together, all this will provide far greater information, without which it is impossible to fight crime.

Nationalist Party Leader Wounded in Shooting Incident

LD0612112094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1110 GMT 6 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] St. Petersburg December 6 TASS—The leader of the National-Republican Party of Russia, Yuriy Belyayev, was wounded by unknown gunmen in St. Petersburg on Tuesday and two of his bodyguards were killed.

Police told TASS Belyayev was attacked while getting into his car.

Until recently Belyayev headed the People's Social Party, the symbol of which was a bird with a swastika on its tail. On Sunday the party merged with the National-Republican Party and he became its leader.

Belyayev used to work as a senior policeman and has created a trade union of police officers which united 50 people. The union was known for its anti-Zionist statements as well as threats to Caucasian minorities. Belyayev is also known as a "supervisor" of volunteers who went to fight on the Serb side in former Yugoslavia. Besides, he heads a private bodyguard company called "Rubikon".

Yeltsin Dismisses Head of Delegation to Azerbaijan Talks

LD0512155094 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin released special envoy Dmitriy Bykov from the post of head of the Russian Federation delegation to talks with Azerbaijan. This was reported today by the presidential press service.

Economic & Financial Issues

Yeltsin Rejects Law on Change in Income Tax

LD0512141494 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1346 GMT 5 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin turned down the federal law "On Amendments and Supplements to the Russian Federation's Law on Income Tax Imposed on Natural Persons" adopted by the State Duma and endorsed by the Federation Council.

The president's letter to Speaker of the State Duma Ivan Rybkin says that taxation envisaged under an article of the law will lead to the worsening of the material position of citizens who participated in clearing the aftermaths of the Chernobyl disaster and who suffered from radiation sickness or became disabled. That article of the law considerably lowers the level of their untaxed income.

The president has also objected to the procedure of the law's going into effect. Some norms increasing the income tax are operative as of January 1, 1994 which will lead to considerable worsening of citizens' material position and might cause social tension. The president noted in his letter that federal laws increasing taxation should not be retroactive.

November Inflation Data Reviewed

MM0512114994 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 3 Dec 94 p 1

[Report by Raisa Yeliseyeva: "Prices Rise And Rise"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the data of the Russian Federation Government's Center for the Economic Situation, inflation was 7.5 percent in November alone and it was food prices that rose most. Prices of nonfood commodities and consumer services rose somewhat less. In the period from 8 through 15 November

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prices of food commodities increased by as much as 4.1 percent on average in Russia.

Prices, both of nonfood commodities and consumer services and of food, are rising fastest of all in the Central Chernozem region. Food prices in the free market are still rising at a faster rate. This is understandable when you consider that the bulk of the goods spills over into the "free market" from the "organized" trade. Although these concepts are now so loose that the definition "organized trade" must be regarded as very arbitrary indeed. How can you say it is organized when two stores 100 meters apart are charging different prices for the same item?

It should be said that the prices of all food items are rising simultaneously. There are practically no exceptions. Even goods that were gathering dust, which no one would buy at the old price, have gone up. As for specific foods, it was butter, dairy products, eggs, fruit, and vegetables that saw the biggest price rises in November. In short, everything that is basic to the survival of any family.

Since the beginning of the year the average price of the shopping basket of 19 major food items has increased 2.6 times and by mid-November it was 81,000 rubles [R] for a month's worth.

For a long time cities in the Far East and Siberia have led the way in terms of the level of rices of nonfood commodities. The most expensive nonfood commodities are on sale in the Far East economic region, where one-third of the 40 commodities in the survey have the highest prices in Russia; in the East Siberia region it is one commodity in four, and in West Siberia it is one in five. You also find the most "expensive" cities in these regions: Tyumen, in which half of the industrial goods surveyed are in the top 10 most expensive (for example, color television sets cost R2.5 million—the highest price in Russia). The number two city in terms of the number of goods at top prices is Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, where, for example, you have to pay R18,000 for one kilogram of synthetic detergent, which is 4.5 times more than the Russian average, and R170,000 for an electric iron (5.5 times more).

In the economic regions of the European part of Russia, there are cities where the prices of approximately one-third of the goods are the lowest in Russia: Novocheboksarsk, Cheboksary, Orel, and Kirovo-Chepetsk. For example, in Cheboksary you can buy some types of adults' footwear at the lowest prices in Russia, and the same goes for children's footwear in Kirovo-Chepetsk, wallpaper in Novocheboksarsk, and medicines in Orel.

Government Sets Limit on Cash Deals Between Businesses

MM0512152194 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 94 First Edition p 4

[Decree No. 1258 of the Russian Federation Government "On Establishing an Upper Limit on Cash Transactions in the Russian Federation Between Legal Persons," dated Moscow, 17 November 1994 and signed by Russian Federation Government Chairman V. Chernomyrdin]

[FBIS Translated Text] In accordance with the Russian Federation Law "On the Monetary System of the Russian Federation" (Article 14), the Russian Federation Government decrees:

1. An upper limit of 2 million rubles [R] per payment is to be established for cash transactions in the Russian Federation between legal persons.

All transactions in the Russian Federation between legal persons for a sum in excess of R2 million per payment are to be conducted only in a cashless manner.

2. Decree No. 626 of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government of 30 June 1993 "On Establishing an Upper Limit on Cash Transactions in the Russian Federation Between Legal Persons" (SOBRANIYE AKTOV PREZIDENTA I PRAVITELSTVA ROSSIYSKOY FEDERATSII No. 28, 1993, p 2598) is to be regarded as invalid.

[Signed] V. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Government.

Latest Consumer Price Increases Reported

MM0612111594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Price Rises in November"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Federation State Committee for Statistics reports that the up-to-the-minute consumer price index in November, including prices of food, stood at 114.1 percent, while including food, nonfood commodities, and services it totaled 117.5, 112.1, and 108.5 percent respectively.

Since the beginning of the year consumer prices have risen by 180 percent as a whole, while prices of consumer services have risen by 580 percent. Food prices in November rose faster than prices of industrial commodities. We felt that ourselves.

Deputies Back Call for Aviation Investment

MM0512141394 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 94 pp 3-4

[Article by Lieutenant General Aleksey Vitkovskiy: "Where Are We Flying To?"—from the AVIATSIYA ROSSII section]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Military and civil aviation are in a critical state today—that fact was noted during the Federation Council hearings in late November. Apart from deputies they were attended by representatives of the Russian Federation Presidential Staff, the Government, interested ministries and departments, and the Air Force, as well as designers, engineers, and scientists from Russia's leading aviation firms.

Although the hearings were held in camera, Lieutenant General Aleksey Vitkovskiy, who is in charge of the Federation Council apparatus sector for questions of

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security and defense, agreed to comment on them specially for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

[Vitkovskiy] There is no need to talk for long about the role that aviation plays in present-day conditions, primarily in ensuring the state's national security and meeting its transport needs. However, we are today confronted with a very unpleasant fact: We are forced, in particular, to admit that in terms of overall combat capability our air force group is 3.5 times inferior to that of NATO and half as good as that of the United States and Japan in the east. Around half of the Russian Armed Forces' aircraft pool is made up of second- and third-generation aircraft and helicopters—MiG-23's, MiG-25's, Su-17's, Su-24's, etc. They were all developed back in the fifties and sixties.

No, we do have fourth-generation hardware. MiG-29, Su-27, and Tu-160 warplanes and Mi-28 and Ka-50 helicopters. In terms of their performance characteristics and efficiency they are on a par with the foreign F-15's, F16's, F-18's, and B-1B's currently in service. But the troops are not receiving adequate quantities of these aircraft. Orders for new aviation equipment are currently several times lower than what is needed to replace the warplanes and helicopters being written off. Next year the Defense Ministry will be able to procure only 10 percent of what the troops need.

There is also another ailment. Owing to shortfalls of engines and spare parts the condition of the aircraft has deteriorated considerably. They often stand idle for a long time awaiting repairs. And if you add to that the fuel shortage, it will be obvious why there has been a dramatic reduction in the number of trained combat crews. The figures are terrible. In the first 10 months of the year a combat aviation crew commander (pilot) clocked up an average of 25-30 flying hours. For comparison's sake: A NATO air force commander clocks up 250-300 real flying hours on average.

The United States and Europe are now actively working on the development of fifth-generation aircraft using reduced-signature technology and supermaneuverability. These models are fitted with new-generation engines, more sophisticated onboard systems, and high-precision armaments. We have effectively axed work to develop comparable technology. Why? The same old reason—lack of funds.

But if we do not have a fifth-generation aircraft we will always lag behind the world. What is more, we will lose the market and hard currency. After all, combat aviation today provides us with 60 percent of the hard-currency revenue from all arms exports.

The leading economic powers have seen a constant increase in the amount of appropriations earmarked for the development of aviation. That trend cannot be discerned in Russia. On the contrary, the potential of the leading experimental-design bureaus and research institutes currently stands at 50 percent of the 1990 level and is still falling. Today research institutes and experimental-design bureaus have virtually stopped receiving reinforcements in the form of graduates from higher educational establishments. And studying at Moscow Aviation Institute, Moscow Aviation Technology Institute, and Moscow's Bauman State Technical University has already lost its prestige, along with work at world-renowned aviation firms' design bureaus. Wages there are half the national average.

Specialists have calculated that, should the above trends persist, by 2005 the overall decline in the combat potential of the Russian Armed Forces' aviation will have reached critical level and, if effective measures are not taken, it will cease to exist altogether after the year 2010. [passage omitted]

The sorry state of affairs in Russian aviation has long been a subject of discussion. In 1992 the government formulated and approved the "Program for the Development of Russia's Civil Aviation Technology Through the Year 2000"," a program ratified the following year by the Supreme Soviet as a federal program. [passage omitted]

Virtually all the participants in the hearings were unanimous [as published] that if we do not implement the "Program" we will do considerable economic damage to Russia. According to current estimates, this damage will amount to around $64 billion—that is if Russian aviation companies transfer to foreign aircraft and exports of Russian aviation technology are suspended.

The Russian Government has indeed been repeatedly briefed on the prevailing situation, but no adequate steps have been taken to avert the emerging threat to national interests. One can only hope that the situation will change now.

Cash Shortage Threatens Unique MiG Fighter Technology

MM0512144994 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 94 p 3

[Interview with Twice Hero of Socialist Labor Academician Rostislav Belyakov, general designer of Russia's "MiG" Aviation Science and Production Complex, by Valentin Rudenko under "Viewpoint" rubric; place and date not given: "We Have Fewer Opportunities Today, But No Less Desire"—from the AVIATSIYA ROSSII section]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Rudenko] Despite all the merits of the machines which you have named, they are past history for the design bureau. But what is in hand? Is anything in hand? You once said in an interview that, even if you were banned from building warplanes, you would find a way around the ban and would carry on building them. Have you not betrayed this principle?

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[Belyakov] We really do have fewer opportunities to create warplanes today. But no less desire. This is borne out, for example, by the multirole MIG-33 fighter. We know this machine as the MIG-29M. (It is not customary to give an aircraft a new name until it has joined the country's arsenal.) Nobody has such a fighter today. It vexes me, as general designer, that financial difficulties have recently applied the brakes to the work under this program. We are doing everything to revive this subject. At present this is the only new light-class fighter that can still be accepted into the arsenal this century. In terms of combat capability it is approximately 2.5 times more efficient than its predecessor.

The second important subject is the MIG-31M. Unique results which no one else has yet had have been obtained with this aircraft in terms of range of fire and target detection range.

If we speak of machines of the new, fifth generation, we have such an aircraft too. It is now being prepared for flight tests. We plan to get it into the air in the very near future. According to our estimates, this fighter beats all the programs on which the world's leading aircraft-building firms are now working—the F-22, the Rafale, the Eurofighter, and the Gripen. It is important to note that not only the airframe and the engine but also all the systems and equipment on this aircraft will be fifth-generation.

[Rudenko] Everyone now is talking about the Malaysian contract. How do things stand with regard to implementing it? What modernization is it planned to carry out on these fighters?

[Belyakov] The aircraft earmarked for Malaysia will be fitted with new navigational equipment, as well as a midair refueling system and a more sophisticated arms control system. At the request of the Malaysian side we are working to significantly increase the aircraft's life. Whereas our MIG-29's are designed to operate for 25 years and to clock up 2,500 hours of flying time in accordance with the technical requirements of the Russian Air Force, the life of those being supplied under the contract will be increased to 4,000 hours. [passage omitted]

[Rudenko] How do you picture the future of Russian combat aviation? Do you have any fears for its future?

[Belyakov] Of course I do. Without state support aviation could perish. Ponder just one figure—this year the Army has ordered just 16 aircraft from the aviation industry. This is a tragedy.

I flew back from the United States two weeks ago. I saw with my own eyes that people there are working actively on a hypersonic civil aircraft which will fly at a speed of Mach 2-2.5 and on new military programs. The reduction in defense spending there has in no way entailed a reduction in the volume of experimental design work.

We understand that the production volume [tirazhirovaniye] of combat hardware has to be reduced; but as regards experimental design work, efforts here must, on the contrary, be increased. Because the warplanes we are creating are carriers of the most advanced technologies, which are then transferred to the national economy.

Yes, things are hard today. But, as is known, there is a way out of any situation, even the most complex one. In conditions of a virtual absence of budget funding we are obtaining credits and continuing to keep our programs moving. Russia is a great aviation power, and it is our duty to do everything possible and impossible to ensure that it remains one.

Agriculture Minister Nazarchuk Interviewed

MM0512133394 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Dec 94 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Russian Agriculture Minister Aleksandr Nazarchuk by Aleksandr Gavrilyuk; place and date not given: "Food Dependence or New Credits?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the three years of sovereign Russia's existence, Aleksandr Grigoryevich Nazarchuk is its third agriculture minister. Prior to his recent appointment as minister he headed the State Duma Agrarian Committee. Before that he directed a farm in the Altay.

[Gavrilyuk] You are regarded as a conservative and many people bluntly call you the agrarian lobbyist in the government. They even say that two of your deputies have submitted their resignations because of incompatible views.

[Nazarchuk] I can reassure you: All deputy ministers are still in office. As for labels, I take a fairly calm view of them. Yes, I am a lobbyist when it comes to defending the interests of the Russian countryside. Am I a conservative? I am prepared to accept that claim too—the only thing that I cannot accept is that the production base is being destroyed right now and that cadres are leaving agricultural enterprises.

Nor am I prepared to look in the eyes those 38,000 private farmers who ceased their activity because they believed in the promises of support from the state.

Nor am I prepared to welcome the automatic growth of peasant holdings and private farms—first the conditions should be created so that they can become commercial production units. There is a clear tendency in the world today toward the concentration of agricultural production. In my view the time has come to consider whether we are doing the right thing in allowing agricultural enterprises to be split up.

I do not think that the direction which has been chosen will help to overcome the crisis in the countryside. The situation in the agro-industrial complex is difficult. This year the grain harvest is down by 15 million tonnes, the potato harvest is down, 17 percent less meat will be sold,

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and 18 percent less milk will be sold. The sugar beet harvest is down by almost one-half. I believe that the sugar problem will be most acute this year.

The financial situation is very complex. Today the peasants owe around 13 trillion rubles [R] to the power industry, the chemicals industry, and the machine building industry. We are owed money as well, but that is scant consolation.

The situation is also aggravated by the fact that, according to the year's results, around 30 percent of agricultural enterprises will by all accounts be loss-making. If the Law on Bankruptcy were really enforced, one-third of agricultural producers would be made bankrupt.

However, it is not all a tale of woe. For example, Tatarstan ended the agricultural year excellently and produced a record grain harvest—27 quintals per hectare. In short, where there is an authority and the government supports the peasants, results are achieved. I have brought that belief with me into the government.

[Gavrilyuk] In other words, you still hope for understanding for your position from the government and the president?

[Nazarchuk] I have not had occasion to meet with the president, but Viktor Stepanovich [Chernomyrdin] has promised support.

[Gavrilyuk] Are we to presume that these promises will materialize when the government approves the final figures in the 1995 budget?

[Nazarchuk] Undoubtedly. That is why I say bluntly that unless there is a change of approach to the agro-industrial complex and unless I in the government manage to defend the level of funding for the agro-industrial complex that existed in 1993-1994—and that means at least 10 percent of budget expenditure—unless that happens, I as a [State Duma] deputy will not vote for such a budget even though I am now a member of the government.

[Gavrilyuk] Nevertheless, your approaches are clearly contrary to the views of those who now exert a certain influence on the country's economic policy, do they not?

[Nazarchuk] I can hardly agree with the claim of Aleksandr Livshits, the president's aide on economic questions, who sees nothing terrible in the fact that, for example, 80 percent of the Russian food market will be satisfied by imports.

After all, if that advice is taken literally, it will mean the end of Russia's sheep raising—there will be no demand for wool, flax production, and many others areas of agricultural production. This will essentially mean the death of this country's agriculture. Food dependence—that is the main danger for Russia today.

[Gavrilyuk] Independence is a good thing but, Aleksandr Grigoryevich, you must understand the view of the ordinary consumer, too—why should he buy Vologda butter, for example, which may be "independent" but is expensive, when he can buy Australian butter more cheaply?

[Nazarchuk] I am not going to dwell long on this theme, I shall merely quote the example of sugar. The price of sugar today is equivalent to $420 a tonne, we have never known it as expensive as that. We know the reason as well. The fact is that from 1988 through 1990, Russia produced on average 28 million tonnes. This year's production is 14 million tonnes. Hence the price in the world market. The same thing lies in store for us for other types of produce, too, if we stop thinking about self-sufficiency.

[Gavrilyuk] In your view, what mistakes did your predecessor make and what has to be put right; after all, he was often criticized by the State Duma committee which you still head at the same time as being agriculture minister?

[Nazarchuk] A new committee chairman will be elected soon. As for the previous minister's mistakes, to talk about them now would be to fling mud at someone on his way out and I do not want to do that.

There is something else which grieves me.... Next year no capital investments are planned for the agro-industrial complex. That is understandable: Since farms are no longer state-run there is no reason to invest budget funds in private, joint-stock, and other enterprises. But there is no question of private investments—there simply are none. Why? Because all production in the countryside is unprofitable. But how is that profitability to be achieved when our debt for electricity, fertilizers, equipment and so forth amounts to R13 trillion while our produce is worth so much less. At the moment, unfortunately, it is more profitable for some people to use the meager funds that we have been allocated to make money "through money" rather than give that money to farmers to produce output.

Federal Assembly

Chechnya Agrees To Return All Russian POW's, 4 Bodies

LD0612112994 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 6 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Ekho Moskvy radio station has learned that a group of Russian Federation State Duma deputies and the Government of Chechnya have agreed on the return of all servicemen from the Russian Army, as well as bodies of four Russians killed in the offensive on Groznyy. The exact date of the return is not yet known. An Ekho Moskvy correspondent reports from Groznyy that it make take place in the next three days. The agreement is the result of talks between Grigoriy

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Yavlinskiy and Chechen Prosecutor General Usman Imayev, who acted as representative of President Dzhokhar Dudayev.

Yushenkov Urges Duma to Strengthen Control Over Government

LD0512132394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1233 GMT 5 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 5 TASS—Chairman of the State Duma Defence Committee Sergey Yushenkov submitted a constitutional amendment which vests the parliament with the power to control the activities of the executive authority.

Yushenkov advanced the proposal after a trip to the rebel Republic of Chechnya where he mediated the end to an escalating there. [sentence as received] The Kremlin denies any direct involvement in the conflict, but Yushenkov fears hardliners in the Russian leadership had o'kayed it.

Yushenkov's proposal was backed by Vladimir Isakov, chairman of the Duma Legislative Committee which is to consider it. "Undoubtedly there is such a problem", he told TASS on Monday and promised that the proposal would be considered in the near future.

It is not clear whether the amendment would be submitted for the Duma session on Wednesday. So far it is known that the Duma Council plans to consider the issue tomorrow.

Duma Security Committee Head Comments on Chechen Situation

LD0512180394 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The State Duma will examine the situation in the North Caucasus on Thursday [8 December]. The chairman of the security committee, Viktor Ilyukhin, is on the line.

[Ilyukhin] Again and again the discussion of this issue has shown up the failure of national policy of the president and government in Russia. And today I am afraid that an attempt will be made to draw the State Duma into these lengthy debates and to shift the responsibility to it. I am against this because the Duma had already made one decision on the Chechen events at the request of the government, but, unfortunately, it was not implemented either by the government, the opposition, or Dudayev. From force of inertia the government policy I warned about in the summer has born its bloody fruit.

Duma Criticizes Authorities Over Chechnya Issues

LD0612083294 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0646 GMT 6 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 6 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—The State Duma Nationalities Committee has expressed grave concern over the dramatic events in Chechnya. "The failure of the Russian federal authorities to take specific steps to resolve the problem, which has arisen by way of negotiations, has only aggravated the situation," says a statement by the committee, the text of which arrived at ITAR-TASS today. There is a threat of the conflict turning into an open civil war in the North Caucasus. Russia's vital interests and its national security interests are under threat."

The committee believes that the main reasons behind the conflict lie in the fact that the "federal authorities have no sound, principled, and democratic ethnic policy, and are inconsistent in implementating the Federation Treaty and the Russian Constitution, and that Chechnya's political leaders, who have dragged their people into this fratricidal war, are behaving irresponsibly."

The committee supports the Russian president's appeal to the warring sides, and believes that it is absolutely necessary to implement the package of measures which are stated in the appeal and which are designed to significantly improve the situation, the statement says.

The committee points out that staking everything on military or strong-arm methods in restoring constitutionality, law and order, and peace in Chechnya is dangerous and will lead nowhere. This can be achieved only by way of talks, by political means only, the statement said.

Duma Committee To Bypass Presidential Veto of Tax Law

LD0512182794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The State Duma budget committee has criticized the president's vetoing a draft law on amendments and additions to the law on the income tax on individuals Monday [5 December].

The committee's chairman, Mikhail Zadornov, told Interfax that "the draft law included new tax brackets which raised the minimum taxation level of 12 percent from 5 to 10 million rubles." "If this law is not passed this year, the annual income of most Russians will be taxed at 20 percent by a progressive scale." (For this, it is enough to receive 420,000 rubles a month—IF note). He added that "considering the importance of this document, the State Duma will bypass the presidential veto with two-thirds of votes, and the draft law will be passed."

According to a presidential letter to State Duma Speaker Ivan Rybkin, the draft law lowered the living standards of those affected by the Chernobyl disaster. If enforced on January 1 1994 as stipulated in article 2, it will lead to an increase in the property tax levied. In addition, the document will necessitate an extremely complicated recalculation procedure to be developed to settle accounts with taxpayers.

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Committee To Back Yeltsin's Constitutional Court Judges

LD0512201094 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1314 GMT 5 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 5 Dec—The Federation Council's Committee on Constitutional Legislation has decided to back Vladimir Strekozov and Sergey Vitsin for the remaining two judicial vacancies in the Russian Constitutional Court. Their candidacies were originally put forward by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, ITAR-TASS reported.

The agency quoted Yeltsin's message to the deputies, in which the president hoped the Federation Council sitting on 6 December "will succeed in completing the personnel composition of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court and thus make it possible for the court to join in the process of state construction and of defending human and social rights."

Yeltsin said the main appointment criteria were "the professionalism of the candidates, their political impartiality, and everyday wisdom, which would help strengthen the institution of the Constitutional Court, taking its new powers into account."

Regional Affairs

Regional Elections Show Conservative Resurgence

MM05D145994 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Dmitriy Babich under the rubric "Elections in the Provinces": "Organs of Power Have Become Right-Wing and Protective"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Against the phenomenal success of Sergey Panteleyevich Mavrodi in the Mytishchi election, the local elections held in 10 components of the Federation last Sunday went unnoticed (the results were finalized by the Central Electoral Committee on Friday). The democrats lamented for a while about Zhirinovskiy's victory in Krasnodar—and that was all the reaction there was. It is true that from the "party" viewpoint the elections brought victory to the communists and nationalists. In Krasnodar "Zhirinovskiyites" won 10 out of 45 seats in the legislative assembly, while in the elections for the Chuvashia parliament, where Agrarians and Communists already dominate, a representative of Terekhov's Union of Officers and seven representatives of the Communist Party also managed to get into the final round.

It is very easy to write everything off to "lack of awareness" among the population. It is more difficult to understand what people expect from elections, and why they have given their votes to Zhirinovskiyites and Communists. After all, four years ago Krasnodar sent the "inflexible democrat" Oleg Kalugin to parliament. The answer may seem banal: People want stability and a strong state. That is why in Krasnodar the voters also gave preference to law enforcement personnel: Their relative weight in the local organs of power increased fourfold. People are electing militiamen to the local dumas in the hope that they will at least be able to establish order.

The following question arises, however: What stability can Vladimir Volfovich bring, when he publicly promises to raze Europe to the ground? It appears that these sinister promises do not worry the old ladies with their purses who—whether we like it or not—constitute the majority of the electorate today. They are more worried about safety on the road between their home and the store, and Zhirinovskiy has been promising them this for ages, and with a 100-percent guarantee.

The elections have shown that Gaydar's famous formula about a "lean, cheap state" is not working. It is not for nothing that, according to Central Electoral Committee figures, workers from the state sector are increasingly moving into the local organs. In almost all local organs of power the number of teachers, doctors and enterprise leaders has increased.

As for the "rich" regions, there the people voted not for parties but for individual candidates. As our Nizhniy Novgorod correspondent Nikolay Yefimovich reports, not a single "Zhirinovskiy hawk" got through to the local organs of power.

Admittedly there is one "but" here. Zhirinovskiy's defeat in Nizhnyy Novgorod should not be seen as a victory for the democrats, since not a single representative of a party or movement got into the local organs—neither nationalist, nor communist, nor democrat.

For the democrats, the elections were a disappointment, and cries of a "return of Bolshevism" can already be heard from their camp. However, it would do no harm to take note that conservatives are winning in the same regions (southern "Cossack" oblasts, Siberia) which actually opposed Bolshevism during the Civil War when it spread out from the now-"democratic" Moscow and St. Petersburg. Historically the population of these regions has not accepted the abrupt changes and revolutionary "turmoil" of history—either in 1917 or in 1991. If the democrats want to win anywhere again, they should reflect on this election.

Second Round of Elections Held in Chuvashia

LD0512203094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1914 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chuvashia, a republic within the Russian Federation, held a second round of elections to the State Council Sunday.

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The Central Election Commission recognized the elections in all of the Republic's 14 constituencies.

The second round of elections resulted in electing to the State Council 4 representatives of a Communist-Patriotic bloc, 3 members of the Communist Party of Russia, 1 member of the Constitutional Democratic Party, 1 member of the Environmentalists' Party and 5 independent candidates.

At the first round of elections on November 27, 7 Communists and 18 independent candidates were elected to the State Council.

Tatarstan Woos Investors With Tax Breaks, Land Rights

MM0512150394 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 3 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Sergey Fedotov: "Tatarstan Loves Foreigners. For Their Money"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kazan—The question of making Tatarstan's statehood meaningful is increasingly occupying the republic's leadership. Tatar President Mintimer Shaymiyev has issued an edict "On Incentives for Attracting Foreign Investment to the Republic of Tatarstan." Hitherto Western investors have not been particularly attracted to the markets of industrially developed Tatarstan, explaining that their initial reluctance was due to the uncertain nature of relations between Kazan and Moscow and—following the signing of the treaty between Tatarstan and Russia—to the inadequate state guarantees and high taxes. The Tatar president has now attempted to solve both problems with a single edict. As of next January enterprises with foreign investment registered in the republic and producing goods or providing services will be exempt from tax on the profits payable to the republic budget and on property. Foreign partners' participation should be determined by a shareholding worth no less than $1 million. These tax breaks are limited to a three- to five-year duration, guaranteed by a state claim against enterprise assets [zalogom sluzhit gosudarstvennoye imushchestvo]. In the event of the enterprise closing its doors during this period it has to return the full amount of tax breaks it was granted.

One reason for Western entrepreneurs' cool attitude to the republic was the simple question of who owns the land on which the enterprises were built. After all, in the event of unforeseen circumstances the state could seize private property by staking a claim to the land. The edict solved this problem as well by granting foreigners tracts of land—including land occupied by buildings and structures—to own or on long lease.

By encouraging foreign investors, Tatarstan is hoping to earn considerable dividends. In particular, there is hope that the last "socialist project"—the Yelabuga Car Plant—will be completed. The consortium set up more than a year ago in which CIS countries are participating has not yet produced any real results in "demothballing" the plant. At the same time, some well-known foreign firms, including General Motors and Daewoo Corporation of Korea, are taking a close look at the "unfinished construction project" on the Kama. Western entrepreneurs have places to invest their capital in the republic, which boasts developed oil-extracting, aircraft, and shipbuilding industries, car and polymer production giants, high-tech defense industry enterprises, and a strong agricultural sector. Time will tell if the measures taken by the Tatar leadership to attract foreign investment to the republic will work.

Sverdlovsk Declared Equal Member of Russian Federation

LD0512182994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Head of the Sverdlovsk Regional Administration Aleksey Stakhov (the Urals) signed on Monday the law on the Charter of the Sverdlovsk Region, earlier approved by the regional duma. The Charter, which was approved on October 29 and which had been earlier returned for finalization two times as going against the Russian Constitution, will go into effect after publication.

Our correspondent reports that in accordance with the Charter, the Sverdlovsk Region is a constituent member of the Russian Federation and has its own laws. The Sverdlovsk Region has the right to establish a bank of its own.

The regional duma will ask President Yeltsin for permit to hold gubernatorial elections next May.

Vladivostok Ex-Mayor Urges Inquiry Against Nazdratenko

MK0612120094 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 6 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Oleg Kryuchek: "Criminal Case Against Vladivostok Ex-Mayor Dropped. Vladimir Cherepkov Urges Trial for Maritime Kray Governor"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Maritime Kray Prosecutor Valeriy Vasilenko, Vladivostok Prosecutor Vitaliy Yeroshenko, and prosecution office investigator Aleksandr Vysotskiy have flown to Moscow on a summons from Russian Acting General Prosecutor Aleksey Ilyushenko for an out-of-court examination of the case of dismissed Vladivostok Mayor Viktor Cherepkov. The regional prosecutor's office chiefs are expected to incur a serious penalty for falsification and a biased stand in investigating the mayor's case, and Mr. Vysotskiy, who directly headed the investigation, could be generally removed from office and disqualified.

Viktor Cherepkov has told your SEGODNYA correspondent that he intends also to insist that the criminal case against his son, already sentenced "to seven years for armed robbery," be reexamined. Mr. Cherepkov

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thinks that his son's case, as his own too, was brazenly trumped up for political motives. Viktor Cherepkov believes that first of all there should be a prosecutor's examination in the Maritime Kray administration regarding Governor Yevgeniy Nazdratenko, who illegally removed him from power and later broke a number of legislative acts.

Mr. Cherepkov suggests the following method of investigation: "The governor and his deputies should be suspended from their duties for the duration of the investigation, and then one should talk with the remaining clerks. They, to be sure, would sell out their boss very quickly." Asked if Mr. Nazdratenko would be able, after Mr. Cherepkov has been reinstated, to dismiss him on legal grounds for the failure to fulfill his duties for more than three months, Mr. Cherepkov said he would perhaps be able, given today's situation of arbitrariness and lawlessness.

Scale of Komi Oil Spill 'Must Not Be Concealed'

MM0612121794 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Sergey Leskov: "Cows Produce Milk and Oil at Scene of Accident in Usinsk"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of the Russian oil complex have repeatedly said that cunningly disguised independent experts are in actual fact carrying out the orders of world capital and overstating the scale of the accident on the Komi oil pipeline. That was why I initially asked interlocutors from the Social-Ecological Union who have just returned from near Usinsk whether they were not lobbying in the interests of U.S oil companies.

Candidates of Biological Sciences Svyatoslav Zabelin, chairman of the union's council, and Vladimir Zamoyskiy, an expert on the oil industry, firmly stated that they had not received a dime from any foreigners for their studies. But the U.S. figures must be taken into consideration, since the Russian experts believe that the oil industry is not only deliberately understating the scale of the environmental disaster but has done nothing in a long time to mop up the resulting mess.

Careful study of various documents pertaining to state inspections, which are being concealed from the public, shows that the oil spill could amount to 150,000 tonnes and not 14,000 as the "Komineft" Joint-Stock Company assures us. For instance, one Usinsk State Committee for Environmental Protection document alone, compiled 23 August in the presence of oil industry people, regarding the rupture of the pipeline in 14 places speaks of over 64,000 tonnes of oil. According to the most modest estimates, in the three months that oil was gushing out of the holed pipeline around 60,000 tonnes poured onto the ground.

Ecologists have said that such accidents are a regular occurrence in northern Russia. However, they are hushed up and the environmental situation in the region is simply catastrophic. The method of burning the oil which oilmen use to eliminate the accidents, thus releasing many carcinogens into the air, is particularly dangerous. Recent studies have found large traces of oil in cows' milk.

Having visited the Usinsk area, V. Zamoyskiy and S. Zabelin failed to find with their specialists' searching gaze any particular signs of zeal in clearing up the aftermath of the accident. Only 26 km of the 52 km of holed pipeline have been replaced; the oil people claim that there is no money for the rest. However, there are plenty of federal funds which are ready to come to the region's rescue without Western aid. But in order for that to occur, the scale of the disaster must not be concealed.

Meanwhile in November another accident occurred on the same pipeline. Oil from the "Northern Lights" Russian-U.S. joint venture spilled onto the ground. The enterprise has leading-edge technologies, but it has to join the holed pipeline at the end of its sector....

North Ossetian Leader Reassures Yeltsin on Refugee Measures

LD0512182694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] North Ossetian President Akhsarbek Galazov reassured Russian President Boris Yeltsin that the North Ossetian leaders were taking "all possible measures" for carrying out the Russian president's decree on return of refugees and displaced persons to North Ossetia and Ingushetia signed last December.

The press service of the North Ossetian mission in Moscow told Interfax that the message of Akhsarbekov to Yeltsin said "refugees and displaced persons were re-accommodated in all houses which were not destroyed or were restored."

Total of 33 living houses were restored in the populated centers in the Prigorodny Region to which Ingush refugees were returning (Chermen, Dongaron, Dachnoye and Kurtat) under the Russian president's decree, 280 more houses are now being restored. Ingush refugees and displaced persons will also be given 150 apartments in living blocks.

Galazov said there were now 3500 Ingushes and 1800 Ossetians living in the Chermen Village. He said more than 12,000 Ingushes were living in North Ossetia as a whole.

Galazov said return of refugees and restoration of houses was hindered by "late financing" and the failure to implement the agreements on participation of the houses' owners in restoration of their dwelling place.

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Ossetian, Ingust State of Emergency Edict

MM0612121994 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Dec 94 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Russian Federation president's edict no. 2145 "On the Introduction of a State of Emergency on Part of the Territories of the Republic of North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the continuing tense situation in a number of regions of the Republic of North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic and with instances of acts of terrorism and violence and the need to continue the process of returning the enforced migrants to their permanent places of residence and to implement a package of measures to eliminate the consequences of the armed conflict and with a view to ensuring state and social security and also in accordance with article 88 of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Constitution and the RSFSR Law "on the state of emergency" and the Russian Federation Law "on security" I decree that:

1. The state of emergency on part of the territory of the Republic of North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic introduced by the Russian Federation President's 3 October 1994 edict no. 1970 be repealed.

2. On the basis of point "a" of article 4 of the RSFSR law "on the state of emergency" from 1400 hours 3 December 1994 through 1400 hours 31 January 1995 a state of emergency be introduced on the following territories:

Republic of North Ossetia [subtitle]

Mozdokskiy Rayon (except for the population center of Telman, Yelbayevo, and Sadovyy), Pravoberezhnyy Rayon (population centers of Staryy Batakoyurt, Zilga, and Olginskoye and Vladikavkaz airport), Prigorodnyy Rayon (settlements of Mayskiy, Chermen, Komgaron, Tarskoye, Kurtat, Oktyabrskoye, Kambileyevskoy, Dachnoye, Sunzha, and Dongaron), and the city of Vladikavkaz (population centers of Yuzhnyy, Chernorechenskoye, Terk, Balta, Chmi, Nizhniy Lars, Verkhniy Lars, Eemi, Kartsa, and the "Sputnik" military township);

Ingush Republic [subtitle]

Malgobekskiy Rayon (except for the population centers of Novyy Redant and Chkalovo), Nazranovskiy Rayon, Sunzhenskiy Rayon (population centers of Galashki, Muzhichi, Nizhniy Alkun, and Verkhniy Alkun), and Dzheyrakhskiy Rayon (population centers of Dzheyrakh, Lyazhgi, Veyni, and Furtog).

3. An interim administration be introduced for the period of the state of emergency as a special form of administration on part of the territories of the Republic of North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic (hereinafter referred to as the Interim Administration).

The Interim Administration is the legal successor to the Interim Administration on the part of the territories of the Republic of North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic introduced as a special form of administration by the Russian Federation President's 3 October 1994 edict "on the introduction of a state of emergency on part of the territories of the Republic of North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic."

4. For the period of the state of emergency:

a special exit and entry regime shall be established, as shall a special procedure for travel inside the state of emergency zone, including the checking of documents and, if there is information that citizens are in the possession of weapons, a personal search and the search of items, housing, and transport facilities;

the guarding of public order and establishments ensuring the population's livelihood shall be stepped up;

the holding of gatherings, meetings, street processions and demonstrations, and other mass events shall be banned in the state of emergency zone;

the holding of strikes shall be banned;

the sale of weapons shall be banned;

censorship shall be introduced for information covering events in the state of emergency zone, with the right of temporary confiscation of printed matter.

The Interim Administration must:

confiscate firearms and cold weapons, ammunition, and toxins and explosives from citizens;

deport violators of public order who are not inhabitants of a given area to their place of permanent residence or beyond the territory on which the state of emergency has been introduced, at their own expense;

suspend after a preliminary warning the activity of political parties, public organizations, and mass movements preventing the normalization of the situation;

with a consideration for the situation, introduce a curfew, that is a ban on citizens being on the streets and in other public places at a certain time of the day without specially issued passes and documents giving proof of identity.

5. It must be established that the organs of executive power of the Republic of North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic should be directly subordinate to the head of the Interim Administration, as should the organs of local self-management on the territory where the state of emergency regime is in operation, the organs of executive power of both republics; the organs of local self-management outside the state of emergency zone are subordinate to the head of the Interim Administration on questions of the return of enforced migrants, the implementation of the package of measures to eliminate

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the consequences of the armed conflict, and the implementation of the state of emergency regime.

The decisions of all organs of state power and local self-management on questions listed in the above point made without agreement with the Interim Administration are not legally valid.

6. The Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Russian Federation Federal Counterintelligence Service, and the Russian Federation Defense Ministry forces assigned to the Interim Administration must take steps to prevent an armed clash between the opposing sides, to protect and ensure the safety of citizens, and to ensure the unconditional observance of the state of emergency regime.

7. The forces of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry, the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Russian Federation Federal Counterintelligence Service, the Russian Federation president's Federal Agency for Government Liaison and Information, and the Russian Federation State Customs Committee must be made operationally subordinate to the head of the Interim Administration.

8. The Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Russian Federation Defense Ministry, the Russian Federation Counterintelligence Service, and the Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office must ensure the fulfillment of point 4 of the working plan of specific actions approved by the Russian Federation president 30 December 1993.

9. The Republic of North Ossetia Government, the Ingush Republic Council of Ministers, the Interim Administration, the Russian Federation General Prosecutor's Office, the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Russian Federation Defense Ministry, and the Russian Federation Ministry of Finances must submit a monthly report to the Russian Federation Government on the execution of this edict.

10. The Republic of North Ossetia Government, the Ingush Republic Council of Ministers, and the Interim Administration must:

before 1 January 1995 coordinate the procedure and schedule for the return of enforced migrants to their former places of permanent residence on the territories of the Republic of North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic;

in conjunction with the Russian Federation Ministry for Civil Defense, Emergencies, and the Elimination of Natural Disasters, elaborate in December 1994 and submit to the Russian Federation Government a program for the construction and restoration of housing for refugees and enforced migrants and of social infrastructure establishments on the territories of the Republic of North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic for 1995.

11. The Russian Federation Security Council, with a consideration for the proposals of the Federal Assembly Federation Council must elaborate by 15 December and submit for approval a plan of measures to stabilize the situation in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict zone, indicating specific deadlines and the official responsible.

12. The Russian Federation Government must:

ensure the implementation of measures connected with the introduction of the state of emergency regime, including their financing;

finance promptly and in full measures for the comprehensive solution of the problem of enforced migrants;

ensure the further holding of talks on settling the conflict;

render, via the Interim Administration, financial and economic aid to the Republic of North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic in accordance with federal programs, continuing to render this aid depending on the constructiveness of the talks process between the republics and their implementation of measures to resolve the conflict. It must ban the financing of measures for the comprehensive solution of the problem of enforced settlers bypassing the head of the Interim Administration;

take part in the preparation of a draft federal constitutional law "on the introduction of changes and additions to the RSFSR Law 'on the state of emergency'";

ensure the further return to their place of permanent residence of enforced migrants on the territories of the Republic of North Ossetia and the Ingush Republic in accordance with the procedure for the return and settlement of refugees and enforced migrants to their former permanent residential centers in the population centers of Chermen, Dongaron, Dachnoye, and Kurtat, Prigorodnyy Rayon in the Republic of North Ossetia signed by all sides involved 26 June 1994 in the city of Beslan.

13. This edict enters into force on the day it is signed.

14. This edict shall be sent to the Federal Assembly Federation Council for approval in accordance with article 102 of the Russian Federation Constitution.

[signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin, Moscow, Kremlin, 2 December 1994, 1400 hours.

New Information Center Set Up in Mozdok, North Ossetia

LD0512143994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1402 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] An information center of the Russian State Committee for the Press was founded in Mozdok, North Ossetia, Monday. Its main task is to provide the Russian and foreign media with official information about the developments in the Chechen Republic and the situation in neighboring areas of the North Caucasus.

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Ten journalists, led by the chief of the international cooperation section of the RF Press Committee, Lavrenti Mikhailov, arrived from Moscow to work at the center.

Bomb Hoax Halts Publication of Petersburg Papers

MM0512135594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Dec 94 Weekend Edition p 2

[Unattributed report under general headline "A Bomb at the Newspaper!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Wednesday evening the publication of daily newspapers at the St. Petersburg newspaper complex's printing works was threatened with disruption.

At 1830 an anonymous caller called the editorial office of the children's newspaper PYAT UGLOV and announced that a bomb had been planted in the "Lenizdat" building. Within a few minutes staffers of the Tsentralnyy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration and the Federal Counterintelligence Service had arrived at "Lenizdat," and access to the Fontanka embankment was sealed off; everyone in the Press Center was asked to leave the building, and the publication of the newspaper was suspended. Fortunately, no bomb was found.

Ingush State Committee for Press Dissolved by Aushev

LD0512133894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1300 GMT 5 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ruslan Maysigov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Nazran December 5 TASS—The Ingush State Committee for the Press is dissolved by a decree of Ingushetia's President Ruslan Aushev issued on Monday. The text of the decree says the purpose of the Committee's dissolution is to perfect the activity of executive authorities in the republic.

Till February 14 the government is to put on its balance sheet material and monetary assets on the dissolved agency. Instead of the Committee, there will be a department for coordination of the work of the media in the republic at the Ingushetian Government.

The decree confirms the continuation of the course to reduce the number of ministries and organisations financed from the local budget. The presidential decrees in November eliminated the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, Ingushgaz production amalgamation and the Agency for Housing and Communal Services.

Grachev Talks with Avturkhanov; Ready to Meet Dudayev

LD0612110694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1056 GMT 6 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mozdok December 6 TASS—Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said on Tuesday that he is ready to meet rebel Chechen president Dzhokhar Dudayev, but only if the latter agrees to represent Chechnya as a Russian republic. However, Chechen opposition leader Umar Avturkhanov warned him that "Dudayev is not looking for a compromise".

Grachev responded that in case the warring sides do not surrender arms before the December 15 deadline fixed by the Russian president, "the use of force for restoring the constitutional order (in Chechnya) is not ruled out".

Grachev, who is staying in Mozdok in North Ossetia close to the Chechen border, said at a meeting with Chechen opposition leaders that he is ready to meet Dudayev today and in any place. It was not clear whether he would agree to go to Groznyy.

The defense minister said that the main task of his trip to the area, where he arrived together with Interior Minister Viktor Yerin and counterintelligence chief Sergey Stepashin, is "to try and find peaceful ways of settling the conflict".

Avturkhanov confirmed that his forces are ready to surrender arms, but under the condition if Dudayev follows suit. He proposed to hold free elections in Chechnya as soon as the situationm stabilises and Grachev backed his proposal.

Grachev To Meet Dudayev; Final Settlement Due 8 Dec

LD0512203394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1914 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The final measures to settle the conflict in Chechnya will be developed by Russia's Security Council on December 8, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who arrived in the North Ossetian city of Mozdok on Monday, told reporters. He said that the main purpose of his trip to the North Caucasus was the search for a peaceful settlement of the Chechen crisis. He also announced that he would meet with President Dudayev and the opposition leaders on Tuesday, to discuss ways of settling the conflict.

To quote Grachev, the Chechen authorities continue military build-up. Individual approaches to the city are being mined, fire emplacements are being set up and barricades are being built in Groznyy.

According to military intelligence, there are 11,000 to 12,000 men, and a small number of tanks, artillery and air-defense equipment at Dudayev's disposal.

Grachev said that military groupings, including units of the armed forces, and of the interior and special forces, are being formed up in the three regions adjacent to Chechnya if the need arises "to use force."

Grachev told an Interfax correspondent that the arrival of mercenaries from the CIS countries and from the

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states outside the CIS was rather problematical. He noted, however, that individual groupings might attempt to penetrate into Groz ny from the neighboring republics. "The inflow of mercenaries continues. We know where they are located and in what hotels they are staying," said Grachev.

"If peaceful ways of settling the Chechen crisis are tapped, law and order will be restored by force," he went on to say. He noted, however, that "the troops will not destroy the city." "We shall act through individual attack groups," he added.

Grachev also announced that "Dudayev and his supporters have routes of retreat" and that the countries were known which were ready to give refuge to the Groznyy leaders.

He said that six TU-154 planes which had brought ammunition to Groznyy had been destroyed by combat aircraft in the Groznyy airport. Also, 10 L-39 training planes with weapons for possible combat operations had been eliminated.

He announced that on December 1, the regime of air and land reconnaissance was toughened on the borders with Chechnya. "All the planes that will try to penetrate into Groznyy without our knowledge will be destroyed," he said.

Grachev said that on November 29 the Security Council appointed him head of the group in charge of settling the conflict in Chechnya. The group also includes the Russian power ministers.

On Monday Grachev held a conference on the situation in Chechnya. It took place in Mozdok and was attended by Interior Minister Viktor Yerin, Minister for Nationalities and Regional Policies Nikolay Yegorov, Director of the Federal Counterintelligence Service Stepashin and Head of the Federal Border Service Andrey Nikolayev.

Says Dudayev Building Up Forces

LD0512173794 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1657 GMT 5 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Mozdok (North Ossetia), 5 Dec—Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who has been appointed head of a special group on Chechnya by the Russian Security Council, told ITAR-TASS today that Dudayev's regime "is building up forces and equipment."

The minister, who arrived in Mozdok today, said that according to the information available to him "additional forces are arriving" in Groznyy "including mercenaries and volunteers from neighboring republics." Sites are being mined and roadblocks set up in the town.

Pavel Grachev voiced concern over the fact that the Russian-speaking population cannot leave Groznyy. The minister did not rule out that Russian residents are being kept by force. He gave assurances that if a peaceful settlement became impossible and tough measures would have to be taken, the command would take every step to ensure that the peaceful population is not hurt. [passage omitted]

Also, Pavel Grachev said that as of 1 December, control over the air space in the area of Chechnya had been considerably stepped up. According to him, "all the aircraft spotted over that territory without identification signs and that does not respond to calls will be destroyed without warning."

Khasbulatov Calls For Surrender of Arms in Chechnya

LD0612121594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1144 GMT 6 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] An influential leader of the Chechen opposition, Ruslan Khasbulatov, supported the Russian federal authorities' appeal to the participants in the Chechen conflict to surrender their arms.

"Naturally, this is in complete accordance with federal laws," Khasbulatov told Interfax special correspondent Vyacheslav Terekhov in an exclusive interview on Monday evening in Moscow. "Russia must ensure the implementation of this demand," he went on to say. "Which particular methods will be used for ensuring the implementation of the law, I can't say because I'm not a specialist. As a politician, however, I understand that first and foremost military equipment must be confiscated from the warring parties. Then, all of the armed formations must be disarmed and disbanded," said Khasbulatov.

Khasbulatov believes that this goal is quite attainable, because the opposition will fulfill such a demand, while "Dudayev's bandit formations do not represent any serious military threat." "Behind Dudayev's strength are the errors of the opposition," he said.

He criticized the military leaders of the Provisional Council which attacked Groznyy on November 26. "If the leaders of the Provisional Council had not launched a risky tank attack on Groznyy, the Dudayev regime would have been counting its last days," he said.

He noted that the failure of the tank attack on Groznyy was explained by "the absolute lack of preparedness for the operation from the military and political point of view, not by Dudayev's strength."

"As a result of the military defeat, all of the conflicting parties have lost strength and the initiative in settling the crisis has passed over to the federal authorities," he said.

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Rutskoy Calls For Groznyy's Complete Isolation From Russia

LD0512183794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The former Russian vice president, Aleksandr Rutskoy, has said "the country is on the brink of unleashing a large-scale war in the North Caucasus fraught with a nationwide political crisis."

In his statement published by the Russian Social Democratic Popular Party and the patriotic movement Derzhava, he said that "three years of the untalented and irresponsible internal policy and economic relations have resulted in losing thousands of human lives, while dozens of thousands of innocent Russian citizens have become refugees. Chechnya has turned into a shell room filled with weapons up to the brim, while forces seeking to estrange the North Caucasus from Russia under slogans of independence have strengthened."

Rutskoy proposed the State Duma, Federation Council, government and president realize that "wooing separatists, feudals of ethnic minorities will end with a tragedy for Russia as well. Russia will face the same plight as the former Soviet Union, if the whole complex of social relations is not strictly and demandingly brought in line with the law."

"To establish order in Chechnya and prevent proliferation of this source of tensions all over Russia, the country's leadership needs to hold simultaneous talks with the conflicting sides and demand they comply with the existing Russian legislation," Rutskoy believes. Otherwise, "Chechnya must be completely isolated from the Russian Federation by closing all borders and making any relations with it as an item of the federation impossible," he said.

Russian Tankmen Claim Chechen People Sheltered Them

MM0612095694 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Dec 94 p 1

[Abbreviated transcript of unattributed interview with unnamed Russian tankmen, transcribed from videotape "recorded in Chechnya"—date not given; carried under the general heading "Chechnya: Thunder of Political Storm": "Russian Tankmen Under Fraternal Roof"]

[FBIS Translated Text] This interview, recorded on videotape in Chechnya, is hardly likely to make its way onto our official television. Russian boys, tankmen, are saying things that do not fit into the Procrustean bed of official propaganda, which is oriented toward kindling enmity between the Chechen and Russian peoples. Our tankmen have seen with their own eyes the state of devastation caused in the republic by the reckless dominance of Dudayev, who does not care in the least about the people. They did not go there to wage war on the Chechens, but to help the ordinary people. And that is why their existence is being hushed up.

For obvious reasons, we will not give their names. We present an abbreviated version of the interview, which is recorded on a video cassette which is in the possession of the editorial office.

Question: You were on the territory of the Chechen Republic. Your tank was put out of action. How did events develop after that?

Answer: Yes, we sympathized with the Chechen people. After the tank was put out of action, some infantrymen remained with us, five of them.... The full fire of Dudayev's men hit us. We ran into an apartment block and tried to hide there. But the place was being shelled savagely. Maybe they had seen we were there.

Question: But it was a Chechen apartment block. And they were shooting at it just the same?

Answer: Yes. Then we ran to another apartment block. Chechens hid us there too. They gave us civilian clothes to change into, we waited until dark, they took us across to another apartment where there were also ordinary Chechens. We stayed with them three days.

Question: Did they realize they were putting themselves in danger?

Answer: Yes, they knew that if we were seen, they would be shot as well as us. They knew the risk they were taking. If we had been Chechens they could have passed us off as family, but a Russian.... People would ask straight away: Where did you come from? Especially if you're young, it's immediately obvious. But they were not afraid, all the same. We are very grateful to them. We were stuck there for three days, we were afraid of every little sound, because they could come searching at any moment. And our hosts were even more afraid, for us and for themselves. But they tried not to show it. They saved us.

Question: And these were not isolated cases in Groznyy when the tanks came into the city?

Answer: At any rate, at our halts in the city civilians came up to us and brought food for the infantry and for us, the tankmen.

Question: Do people back home know you are in this danger zone, are they worrying about you?

Answer: No, they don't know back home. Even in Moscow they didn't know we were coming here.

Question: And what can you say about the official propaganda, which claims that the Chechens are against Russia and Russians?

Answer: It's not true.

Question: Are you OK?

Answer: Yes.

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Question: If they did show you on Central Television after all, what would you like to say to your relatives and your comrades?

Answer: They needn't worry. Everything is fine with us.

(A videocassette of this interview is in the possession of the editorial office.)

Five Russian Officers Allegedly Join Dudayev's Forces

LD0512215994 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2140 GMT 5 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS Sharip Asuyev]

[FBIS Translated Text] Groznyy, 6 December—The main staff of the Chechen armed forces has reported that five Russian officers from the military base in Mozdok (North Ossetia) switched their allegiance to Dzhokhar Dudayev on Monday evening [5 December]. The source refused to give ITAR-TASS their names and ranks.

According to the main staff, two military helicopter pilots and three maintenance service officers said they took this decision because they did not want to "be involved in a second Caucasian war."

The officer on duty at the information directorate of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense has told ITAR-TASS that the directorate "has no information concerning this incident".

Cossacks Offer Mediation on Russians Captured in Chechnya

MM0612113794 Moscow TRUD in Russian 6 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Isayev: "Don Cossacks Form Peacemaking Regiment"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Novocherkassk— At a grand assembly of the Union of Don Host region Cossacks held in Novocherkassk on Saturday [3 December] Viktor Ratiyev, supreme ataman of the Union of Cossacks of Russia, talked about the need and desire to form a volunteer cossack regiment for demilitarization and peacemaking in Chechnya. "A bad peace is better than a 'good' war," he said.

The cossacks expressed a wish to mediate in talks with the Chechen leadership on the release of the Russian servicemen captured during the recent assault on Groznyy. As Ratiyev stressed, Dzhokhar Dudayev is agreeable to such talks with the cossacks. The basis for this is the cooperation treaty between the regional union of cossacks and Ichkeria (Chechnya). Ratiyev considers that the introduction of troops into Chechnya would result in a second Caucasus war, and this must be avoided.

The cossacks expressed their position—that what is needed is talks and a political, not a military solution to the Chechen conflict—in a message to the Russian Federation president.

Russia Said Moving Troops To Chechen Border

LD0512202394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1914 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] According to Chechen military sources, more than 50 transport planes landed in the North Ossetian airport Beslan over the last week. The planes brought Russian personnel and armored vehicles to be moved to the border with Chechnya. On the whole, about two divisions have been deployed in the area, the sources said. State of emergency in North Ossetia and Ingushetia is enforced by about the same contingent.

At the moment, more than 50 armored vehicles are concentrated around the Beslan airport under protection of anti-aircraft units, according to Groznyy.

Chechen Independence Supporters Gather for Rallies

LD0512194994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1914 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A rally in support of Chechen independence was held in the republic's Urus-Martan District. A resolution passed by the crowd pledges to arm 6000 fighters "to defend the republic from a possible aggression."

An Interfax correspondent says that a crowd of 5000 to 7000 assembled at the rally.

Earlier the district residents told the supporters of Bislan Gantemirov, an opposition leader, to leave the area. Gantemirov's supporters reside chiefly in the villages of Gekhi and Shalazhi.

According to official reports from Groznyy, numerous former opposition followers arrive in Groznyy nearly daily to apologize to a rally there. They also say that they support independence and denounce the opposition leaders for the bloodshed in the republic.

Chechen Opposition To Surrender Arms if Dudayev Does

LD0512173494 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1658 GMT 5 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Bakina and Vadim Byrkin]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 5 Dec—The Chechen opposition is ready to surrender its weapons on condition the supporters of Dzhokhar Dudayev surrender their weapons too.

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ITAR-TASS correspondents were told this today at the Interim Information Center attached to the Russian Press Committee quoting spokesmen of the Chechen Interim Council.

The opposition specified its choice of venue for the talks; the Interim Council favors a meeting in Pyatigorsk. As you know, the Working Commission for Problems of Settling the Situation in the Chechen Republic offered a choice of five towns, among which Pyatigorsk was featured.

But the Groznyy authorities, according to their official statements, do not plan to hold talks with the opposition, regarding the latter as "criminal." Dzhokhar Dudayev told an ITAR-TASS correspondent in Groznyy today: "I have always been and remain now a supporter of talks on an equal footing with the Russian leadership at the appropriate level."

Representatives of the Chechen president have offered to hold talks in Vilnius or Vladikavkaz, but this was turned down by the working commission.

Population Will Determine Chechnya Developments

MM0512120994 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Dec 94 p 2

[Article by Aleksandr Golts under the "Topic of the Week" rubric: "Above the Abyss of Enmity"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] No matter where you are in the Caucasus, you are shown without fail a bridge called "Devil's Bridge" or something of the kind. Extremely rickety and unstable, it lies across an abyss so deep that it seems that hell begins there at the bottom. The uncontrollable development of the situation in Chechnya seems to have brought Russia to that kind of rickety bridge over an abyss. Over a hell of seething hatred and rivers of blood. And, like it or not, we have to use that bridge.

Furthermore, no major foreign politician questions Moscow's right to ensure law and order in one of the Russian republics, and the Russian and foreign press have provided a good dozen explanations why the Russian president has now made such a resolute statement. A statement in which he asked the warring parties to suspend combat operations and disband armed formations. There are very varied explanations. Ranging from the extremely exotic: That is how Moscow wants to show its foreign partners the need to revise the CFE Treaty flank limitations. To the extremely cynical: the president is starting his election campaign with a small victorious war.

Such opinions have one obvious shortcoming. If you agree with them it looks as though Moscow is failing to take into account the obvious dangers of resolving the situation by force, namely that of getting involved in protracted, hopeless hostilities. It is, after all, no coincidence that the Russian Government did everything it could to avoid direct involvement in the conflict right up until the very last minute, until Dzhokhar Dudayev threatened to execute the Russian guys in his hands following the abortive assault on Groznyy. And only when the situation did indeed prove utterly intolerable did Boris Yeltsin issue his statement. [passage omitted]

Many of my colleagues are now trying to forecast the development of events by trying to calculate the forces and systems which the sides have at their disposal. In my view, a futile activity. And not just because misinformation has become one of the main means of waging combat operations in the Caucasus: Everyone is exaggerating their potential. The very nature of the combat operations demonstrates the maximum of which the warring forces are capable. This means that it is not that hard to establish military control over Groznyy.

Let us not forget that it is not a question of inflicting defeat on an enemy. It is a question of restoring order and establishing legality in a region of Russia. Primarily for the sake of those Russians, regardless of nationality, who live there. The main question today (a question to which I do not know the answer) is this: Have a considerable proportion of the people living in Chechnya indeed gotten supremely tired of the bloody anarchy, the gangster showdowns, which people are trying to present as political confrontation? If so, they will welcome the restoration of legality. If not, Russia can expect even more serious problems than the present ones.

In any case State Duma Speaker Ivan Rybkin is right to stress that it is necessary to "provide considerable economic aid with fuel and food, organize payment of pensions and benefits, and restore the Chechen national economic infrastructure." And Russia must primarily have the strength to do this in order to overcome the abyss of enmity.

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International Affairs

Kuchma Stresses Nuclear Security Adherence

LD0512193594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1859 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest December 5 TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma has stressed Ukraine's adherence to the cause of nuclear security at a plenary session of the CSCE summit in Budapest today.

Kuchma drew attention to the fact that a document on Ukraine's accession to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty was handed over to the states-depositories of the treaty and that a memorandum on guarantees to Ukraine's security was signed.

Kuchma pointed out that a recent decision adopted by the Ukrainian parliament on Ukraine's accession to the treaty was a really historic event, which confirms a peaceful, open and predictable character of Ukraine's foreign policy.

Stressing the importance of this step, Kuchma said that the state, which had a nuclear potential, third in importance, on its territory, voluntarily gave up the status of a nuclear power. The decision came into force thanks to the realization by countries- depositories of the treaty of a unique situation connected with guarantees of security to Ukraine, Kuchma said.

According to Kuchma, Ukraine is entitled to expect that nuclear states will step up financial, technical and other assistance to Ukraine, which is connected with the process of its nuclear disarmament.

Kuchma said that he appreciates "the timely and principal stance assumed by the CSCE in connection with the situation around the Crimea and inviolability of Ukrainian borders". At the same time, Kuchma noted insufficient effectiveness of CSCE mechanisms. "Not a single international structure was able to put an end to conflicts in former Yugoslavia, Georgia and Nagorny Karabakh," Kuchma said. In his opinion, security might be strengthened provided CSCE mechanisms operate jointly with efforts, experience and potential of other international organisations - NATO, the European Union, the Council of Europe.

On Nuclear Weapons, CSCE Role

LD0512220794 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1738 GMT 5 Dec 94

[Interview with Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma in Kiev by correspondent Demeter Bugar, date not given—recorded; Kuchma and Bugar both speak in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Bugar] You used to work in the missile industry in the former Soviet Union, did you not?

[Kuchma] Those were the nice times, when I always knew what to do and what I would have to do on the following day. [passage omitted: question and answer on the effective propaganda machinery of the former Soviet Union, presenter's roundup on the recent history of nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union. Kuchma is happy to be returning to Hungary where he has twice been before]

[Kuchma] We have to say that we live in an uncertain world since the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the liquidation of the bloc—you know which one I mean.

The European political processes in the framework of the CSCE—in which certain Asian countries, as well as the United States and Canada also participate—are very significant processes. It is absolutely clear to Ukraine as an independent country. The most important task for me, the president, is to ensure the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country.

[Bugar] What is the essence of the agreement to be signed in Budapest on guaranteeing the security and unity of Ukraine?

[Kuchma] This event is unprecedented in history. It is unprecedented, and I am of the view that—as an event of extraordinary significance—it will be included in history books. The agreement guarantees our country's political security, territorial integrity and sovereignty, and includes the renouncement of methods of economic pressure. I know that it is a political document—and we should ignore the matter of economic pressure now—the methods of securing security has not been worked out in our world yet.

This is why I think that the CSCE's role in the field of guaranteeing security—and now I do not only think of the nuclear powers that will sign the agreements on guaranteeing our security—has to be further developed. This is rightly justified by our experience in Yugoslavia.

[Bugar] One of the conditions of the signing of the agreement was that the Ukrainian Supreme Council ratifies the nuclear nonproliferation agreement.

[Kuchma] Yes, this is the most important condition.

[Bugar] Tell me please, when will Ukraine be a country free of nuclear weapons. Can it already be considered a country that is free of nuclear arms?

[Kuchma] I think, the world has appreciated the fact that Ukraine, the only country in the world, has voluntarily renounced its nuclear weapons. Ukraine is a nuclear weapons-free country, I can certainly tell you, and it has always been that—de facto. However, de jure, it has been considered a nuclear power, because there have been nuclear warheads on its territory. Therefore, I repeat that Ukraine is a nuclear weapons-free country, and it is to receive security guarantees in this quality. If you look at the Supreme Council's resolution on this matter, the

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preamble clearly states that Ukraine assumes that it is a nuclear weapons-free country.

[Bugar] Nuclear weapons-free, but there are still nuclear warheads on its territory.

[Kuchma] Look, if somebody gave you nuclear warheads and put them in your storage room, but you did not possess the technical equipment necessary for their use, what kind of country would you be considered? Plutonium has been produced in nuclear power plants in several countries. In spite of this, these countries are not considered nuclear powers. This is why a great significance is attached to the matter of joining the nuclear nonproliferation agreement. For this, to a certain extent, guarantees that the given country renounces the plan to deal with this matter in the future.

On START 2, Missle Dismantlement

LD0512141194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1104 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The implementation of all conditions and procedures envisaged by the START-2 Treaty will lead to the fact that Russia will have to dismantle its up-to-date missile—SS-18 and SS-24. This statement was made for Interfax-Ukraine on Monday by Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma.

He believes that "time and money will be needed to retain the parity." He said that "Russia is prepared for this neither technically not economically."

Commenting on the progress of the talks on security guarantees for Ukraine, which took place on December 4 and 5 in Budapest, Kuchma admitted that "the Yeltsin team's actions may largely be conditioned by the START-2 factor."

France Signs NPT Security Guarantee Document

LD0512202694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1914 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe handed his Ukrainian counterpart, Hennadiy Udovenko, a document on France's granting Ukraine security guarantees in Budapest Monday. The guarantees were granted following Ukraine's acceding to the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

This statement was made by Udovenko in an interview with Interfax-Ukraine.

Marchuk on Russian Discussions, Accord Violations

AU0512104594 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 1 Dec 94 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Boris Yeltsin Will Not Be Coming to Ukraine Until Christmas [the Eastern Orthodox Christmas is celebrated on 7 January]"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday [30 November], the INTERFAX Agency carried information to the effect that the visit by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Ukraine had been postponed until next year. Relevant forecasts were voiced earlier. That is why journalists took the opportunity and tried to find out in greater detail about the progress in the Ukrainian-Russian negotiations and preparation of a large-scale agreement between our states at a traditional briefing in the building of the Presidential Administration. All the more so since, this time, the journalists met with Yevhen Marchuk, Ukraine's first vice-prime minister, and Mykhaylo Onufriychuk, minister for issues of the press and information.

For the first time over the entire period of negotiations, Ye. Marchuk shared with journalists some of his ideas on the prospects for concluding the negotiating process, considering that the Russian side had violated the accord on confidentiality. He said that the Ukrainian delegation cannot agree to the formula proposed by Russia to the effect that "the Sevastopol naval base is the main base of the Russian Black Sea Fleet."

The principles of leasing have not been agreed upon either, more specifically, the Russian side does not accept the very notion "leasing."

Yevhen Marchuk pointed out that a change in approaches to resolving the problem had been proposed at the negotiations—seven draft accords of "minor significance," which would "relieve" the problem. They stipulated, in particular, that, without waiting for a fundamental resolution, agreements must be reached on housing for sailors, hydrogeographic and navigation servicing of the fleet, the fate of so-called unique and indivisible facilities, and so on. However, that initiative did not receive support.

As regards the problem of Ukraine's assets and liabilities, inherited from the former Union, here, Ukraine will, in all probability, adhere to the zero variant.

"It is possible that we will lose something in the material aspect," but, in the opinion of the head of the Ukrainian delegation at the negotiations, the positive gain will be greater, because the responsibility for the debt will be canceled, otherwise, annual interest to be paid on an annual basis would constitute $800 million.

Nor have the border issues been settled.

Therefore, documents are not yet ready for a summit meeting. However, in a few days, the presidents of Ukraine and Russia will meet in Budapest. According to Mykhaylo Doroshenko, presidential press secretary, the date of the visit may also be specified in the Hungarian capital.

Bosnian Serbs Release Captured Ukrainians

LD0512141894 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1329 GMT 5 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Zagreb, 5 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—The Bosnian Serbs released six Ukrainian soldiers and one officer from the UN peacekeeping contingent, the Zagreb staff of UN forces told the ITAR-TASS correspondent today. All seven servicemen returned to the unit's base—Ukrbat-2, deployed in the UN's "North" sector (Croatia).

The Ukrainians who were serving at an observation post a kilometer away from the Croatian-Bosnian border were seized last Tuesday by a subunit of the Bosnian Serb Army and taken by convoy to a district of Bosanski Novi city (West Bosnia). It is thought that they were detained in a motel, however the Zagreb staff of the UN protection force has not yet received a report of the precise details of the incident.

Moroz Meets Iranian Delegation, Discusses Ties

LD0512214194 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 2030 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] According to our correspondent's report, 'Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri, the speaker of the Islamic Majlis, arrived in the Ukrainian capital Kiev on Monday [5 December] afternoon and was welcomed—together with his entourage—by Oleksandr Moroz, the speaker of Ukraine's Supreme Council.

After his arrival, the Majlis speaker conveyed his congratulations for Ukraine's independence, and expressed the hope that in line with the friendly political ties which exist at present, economic ties between Iran and Ukraine may also expand further.

According to the Central News Unit's reporter, in the meeting between the speakers of the two countries' parliaments, Mr. Moroz expressed satisfaction at the good relations between Iran and Ukraine, and announced his country's readiness to further expand its ties with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

He said: Our objective is to ensure that earlier agreements, as well as agreements which will be reached in future, are bearing fruit. He stressed: The presence of a strong Iran and a powerful Ukraine in the region is necessary from a strategic point of view.

In this meeting, Mr. Nateq-Nuri, in turn, expressed the hope that with the formation a joint trade commission assigned with the task of following up bilateral issues, the visit may produce desirable results [sentence as heard].

Speaker Addresses Parliament

LD0612120694 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1030 GMT 6 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Majles Speaker 'Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri, continuing his trip to Ukraine, addressed the parliament of that country around noon today on the important role of parliaments, the need to increase parliamentary relations between Iran and Ukraine, and the existing grounds for this.

[Correspondent] In his speech Mr. Nateq-Nuri said that the Islamic Republic of Iran was among the first countries to recognize Ukraine's independence after the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, and took steps immediately to open embassies and dispatch ambassadors. He said: I hope that relations between the two countries will expand more and that political consultations between them on the crisis-ridden situation in the region and international relations will increase further. He added: The relatively short distances, easy transport system, and the very good market that exists for the commodities of Iran and Ukraine will help in the expansion of commercial relations.

Mr. Nateq-Nuri said: I am proud to announce that the fourth Majles has taken steps to build up closer and good relationships with executive officials in the country and is taking steps to endorse comprehensive laws.

The Majles speaker, referring to the rapid trend of regional and international developments, said that this had created new conditions. He added: The region in which we live has been brimming with all sorts of change and the situation in Karabakh, Tajikistan, Bosnia, and Herzegovina are among issues that call for talks between the sides involved. The Islamic Republic of Iran—just as it has repeatedly proved in practice—has not and will not refrain from helping in every way to solve existing regional problems and difficulties, by peaceful means.

In conclusion, the Majles speaker pointed to the crimes committed by the Serbs and the deceptive face of the West, especially America, in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He said: No nation can be indifferent to the massacres of innocent people, the rape of women and children, and the destruction of the homes and abodes of the people of Bosnia.

The Majles speaker laid a wreath on the grave of the unknown soldier in the Ukrainian capital Kiev.

Italian Government Restores Credit Line

LD0512224694 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1835 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev [no dateline as received]—The Italian Government has taken a decision to restore as of 1 January 1995 the first stage of the credit line for Ukraine to the value of 150 billion Italian lire in compliance with the conditions of the intergovernmental agreement of 29 June 1993. The press center of Ukraine's Foreign Ministry told this to UNIAN on 5 December.

On this occasion [Foreign Minister] Hennadiy Udovenko, the head of the foreign political department [Foreign Ministry] of Ukraine, has sent a letter to Italy's Foreign Minister Antonio Martino in which he emphasized that he assessed this decision by the Italian Government as important political support to Ukraine.

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Italy's decision acquires special importance now, when the president of Ukraine embarked on the road of deepening democratic transformations in the country and carrying out resolute economic reforms.

National Affairs

Kuchma Calls To Replace Karbovanets on 1 Jan

LD0612092694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0845 GMT 6 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Viktor Demidenko and Mikhail Melnik]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev December 6 TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma ordered to create a state commission to carry out a monetary reform in the country and replace the current karbovanets with the new currency called "grivna", TASS learned from reliable sources on Tuesday. The time of the reform was not disclosed, however its programme has to be drafted by December 15, according to the source.

A noted Ukrainian businessman told TASS that "grivna" may be introduced from January 1, 1995. Valeriy Babich, the chairman of the "Ukrainian Financial Group" company, said a special stabilisation fund for the grivna had already been accumulated in the country. He added that, according to preliminary estimates 10 grivna would equal one U.S. dollar. At present one greenback is exchanged for 100,000 karbovanets.

The commission set up by the president is to be headed by First Deputy Premier Viktor Pinzenik, according to the reliable source.

The list of other members of the commission has been already prepared and will soon be handed over for Kuchma's approval.

Communists Critcize Kuchma, Supreme Council

WS0512131994 Kiev KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 24 Nov 94 p 3

[Report by Vladimir Katsman: "Some Radical Communists Demand Dissolution of the Ukrainian Supreme Council"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A deputy to the Ukrainian parliament and a member of the Communist faction, who spoke on condition of anonymity, told our correspondent that following a failed attempt to lift the ban on the Ukrainian Communist Party, a group of radical communists will demand immediate dissolution of the Supreme Council. The deputy believes that this will be done in the hopes of increasing the number of legislative seats that the Communists and Socialists might sweep following repeat elections. "The tactics of orthodoxes is based on the assumption that populist slogans about cheap sausages, and the restoration of the Soviet Union can be effective at a time when living standards of ordinary people are declining," he told the KIYEVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI correspondent. "I do not share those views, and will be forced to leave the faction should they become dominant. I believe that it is actions by the radical wing of Communists and Socialists that cause most damage to the process of reforming our society, initiated by President Leonid Kuchma."

The deputy also said he doubted that even the most flexible tactics in President Kuchma's relationship with the parliament can secure them a peaceful character. In his opinion, Leonid Kuchma will never be able to persuade the "left" factions into "voluntarily raising their own hands to vote for the market and for capitalism." In the opinion of a Communist legislative faction member, the worsening of relations between the president and the parliament may assume "inadmissible forms" in the future, threatening to stir instability among society during the cold winter.

Semenyuk Details Energy Crisis, Prospects

WS0612111594 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0853 GMT 5 Dec 94

[Interview with Vilen Semenyuk, Ukrainian minister of energy and electrification, by Fedir Storozhenko; place and date not given]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] INTELNEWS: What are the major causes of the energy crisis in Ukraine?

SEMENIUK: Ukraine's energy crisis should not be associated with the lack of fuel and energy resources, because it has been provoked primarily by the unfavorable situation in the financial sphere. That is why I say that the energy crisis is constituted by, first of all, the payment crisis.

INTELNEWS: To what extent is today's situation acute?

SEMENIUK: It is very difficult. The largest electric power plants operating on coal and black oil have fuel reserves that are sufficient to last for few days only. The power plants are working on fuel literally 'from the tracks.' Therefore, even insignificant interruptions in the fuel-supply network may destabilize the entire national energy system.

INTELNEWS: One of the major indicators of the national energy system's performance is its frequency. What is its present value?

SEMENIUK: Ukraine's energy system's regular frequency is 50 Hz. When energy production is falling or its consumption is increasing, the frequency decreases. As I have already said, the energy production today has substantially dropped, while its consumption is growing, mostly because of the winter season. What is worth noting is that the energy consumption last summer was at as high level as its level during the past winter. So, the frequency today is 49.3 Hz. The national energy system will be destroyed if its frequency drops to 49.0 Hz,

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because the electric power generators and other equipment can not operate at such a wide range of frequency deviation. Besides, nuclear power plants automatically cut off from the national electric grid and start operating in an autonomous, self-supporting mode. Given that the nuclear plants' share in total energy production in Ukraine accounts for 40 percent, this could result in the reduction of the total energy supply almost by half. To prevent this from happening, the Energy and Electrification Ministry has developed a special schedule for emergency cut-offs in case of a critical frequency drop. This schedule foresees automatic cut-offs for electricity consumers.

INTELNEWS: What is the basic idea behind this schedule?

SEMENIUK: Energy consumers are supposed to be cut off in accordance with a "rotation scheme," that is in sequences one after another, in order to shorten the total duration of an individual consumer's electricity cut-off. The scheme also takes into account that some energy consumers, such as hospitals, for instance, can not be stripped of electricity even for a short period of time. We think that this scheme will allow us to reduce the time of individual enterprise electricity cut-offs to an hour per day, as well as avoid cutting electricity off from the household sector.

INTELNEWS: Have you developed a plan for eliminating this crisis?

SEMENIUK: Well, there is only one possible way to tackle this situation, which is linked to money. I have already mentioned that the energy crisis is in fact part of a more general economic problem. The Energy and Electrification Ministry is short of money because energy consumers are not capable of paying for the energy they have consumed. Today, we collect only about 50 percent of energy payments due—since the beginning of this year, we have been underpaid for energy delivered by about KBV [karbovantsi] 7.4 trillion. As for the budget of our Ministry, as little as 5 percent of it is allocated to cover the wages of the energy sector employees, with the remainder being paid for fuel.

INTELNEWS: Maybe you should simply cut off the non-paying consumers?

SEMENIUK: That is what we are beginning to do, step by step. But the lion's share of our consumers are (state-funded) budgetary organizations and enterprises. To stop providing them with electricity would mean to deprive their employees of jobs, and, consequently, this problem must be resolved in some different way.

We think the energy tariffs established for household consumers are too low, and do not provide them with incentives to economize on energy. These tariffs, though, are likely to be changed in the near future. In addition, we plan to cut down TV broadcasting hours on weekdays, so that television programs would start at 6 p.m., with no restrictions introduced for weekends.

INTELNEWS: The presidential decree 'On urgent measures to provide the economy and population with energy during the fall- winter season in 1994-1995' has removed the ceiling limitations on energy tariffs. Does it mean that the Energy and Electrification Ministry will be allowed to introduce commercial prices on energy?

SEMENIUK: Yes, we are planning to purchase more expensive energy-producing equipment, and sell energy at higher prices to consumers who find these prices affordable.

INTELNEWS: How would you characterize the relations of the Energy and Electrification Ministry with the commercial entities that trade fuel?

SEMENIUK: We are learning to operate under the conditions of the free market. We have plenty of offers from commercial fuel suppliers, and many of them, by the way, charge much less than the state entities.

INTELNEWS: Is Ukraine currently exporting energy?

SEMENIUK: Ukraine exports about 500 megawatts of electricity to Hungary and Slovakia in exchange for coal for the Burshtyn power plant. The electricity produced at this plant is distributed as follows: 60 percent covers the same 500 megawatts that is being exported, and the remaining 40 percent is consumed domestically. Besides, Ukraine delivers about 600 megawatts of energy to the Northern Caucasus, receiving an equivalent amount of energy from Russia.

INTELNEWS: Are there any joint projects aimed at modernizing the country's energy system underway now?

SEMENIUK: Yes, we are cooperating with the World Bank, and expect to receive from this institution, in addition to consulting assistance, certain financial aid as well.

Scientists Draft Nuclear Waste Removal Plan

AU0512141794 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 2 Dec 94 p 1

[Unattributed report published under the rubric "Fact"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ukrainian scientists have drafted technological and economic substantiations for building national storages to accommodate the radioactive waste of atomic plants. The waste has never been removed from there since 1992.

Malykov on Security Threats, SBU Successes

AU0612091694 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 2 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Viktor Kozoriz: "There Are No 'Vacancies' in the Pre-Trial Investigation Center of Ukraine's SBU"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Lately, the chief of Ukraine's Security Service [Valeriy Malykov] has started appearing

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in public, as a rule, in civilian clothes and without bodyguards. Personal safety may not be so important for one who is in charge of the entire country's security. However, something else will be discussed here.

Recently, in the State Management Institute, subordinate to Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers, Malykov met with the chairmen of city councils and expounded to them his view of the current problems facing Ukraine's security and the role of his department in guaranteeing that security. In his opinion, at this stage, the implementation of Ukraine's political policy requires comprehensive consideration of both the existing threats to the state and those that may emerge later. What are these threats? The SBU [Security Service] chairman said this: "Internal threats include the conflict-breeding nature of the development of sociopolitical processes, which may, under certain conditions, lead to a split in society and the state; the crisis in energy provision; the crisis in industrial and agricultural production; and the threat of new catastrophes, which may be triggered by economic or technological causes. On the other hand, the emergence of the so called New World Order, in which the ideology of "globalism" is becoming predominant, is creating an extremely topical problem: that of protecting Ukraine's sovereignty. The policy of liberalizing external ties has resulted in a situation in which Ukraine has become an object for spiritual, cultural, and informational influence on the part of foreign governmental and nongovernmental organizations, whose interests and values are, so far, essentially different from ours. The scope and consequences of this influence is yet to be adequately assessed and the corresponding mechanism for pinpointing the negative trends that emerge has still to be devised.

Malykov then pointed out that a number of foreign intelligence services, operating on the territory of Ukraine under the auspices of various research funds and associations, create structures for the purpose-oriented analysis and selection of young and promising associates of scientific organizations and institutions from the point of view of their suitability for leading posts in bodies of power and management. Documentary evidence at our disposal suggests that foreign special services are carefully watching the process of development of independent Ukraine and have lately intensified their efforts to obtain information on our state's political, economic, scientific, technological, and military potential. What is the Security Service doing to counteract this? According to the security chief, there is much being done. For example, the activity of those associates who seek contacts with foreign special services has been put under surveillance. Attempts to employ technological methods of espionage using the assets of foreign missions in Ukraine have been thwarted. A counterintelligence operation has been carried out and, as a result, a representative of a foreign firm and a servicemen who was working for the intelligence service of a European country have been unmasked and now face charges of espionage and high treason. Two agents of the special services of Western European countries have also been exposed. Fifteen attempts to recruit Ukrainian citizens have been thwarted and efficiently used to reduce foreign intelligence activity. The intelligence activities of eight individuals on behalf of foreign states have been put under our control.... This is how things are. We used to believe that spies only existed in detective stories and that their activity always involved shooting.

According to Malykov, the SBU is mainly concentrating on combating corruption and organized crime. It is precisely owing to the SBU's efforts in cooperation with other law-enforcement agencies that the activity of more than 220 criminal organizations has been uncovered and contained. Material and financial assets worth more than $1.5 million and 378 billion karbovantsi have been returned to the state. On the basis of the operational data obtained, 1,773 criminal cases have been initiated, and 505 criminals have been tried and sentenced.

As though in passing, the chairman of Ukraine's Security Service mentioned that the Security Service has its own small pre-trial interrogation center, but, today, there are no "vacancies" there. I took the opportunity to ask whether a place will be available if it becomes possible to return to Ukraine Yukhym Zvyahilskyy, Ukraine's former acting prime minister, and whether his present whereabouts are known at all. "Something is known," said Malykov, "but the question of detaining Zvyahilskyy has not yet been raised by the Procurator's Office. If such a task becomes necessary, we will certainly carry it out."

Of course, the struggle against spies, bribe-takers, and professional thieves is important, but it would be wrong to think that this is the sole objective of the Security Service. This was pointed out by the SBU chief himself. According to him, one of the trends in the activity of the service is to assist the supreme bodies of state power to conduct successful external and internal policy. Within the framework of this activity, a number of intelligence and counterintelligence programs have been developed and implemented on prospects for Ukraine's integration into the European and world community and on the state of its economic security. Malykov said that, in 1992-94, the Main Intelligence Directorate, in cooperation with counterintelligence subdivisions, obtained data on the conditions prevailing on the market, which, the specialists say, have, on the one hand, enabled more than 100 enterprises to conclude economically advantageous agreements with foreign countries for a total of $250 million, and, on the other, helped to prevent the conclusion of 110 unprofitable contracts involving more than $900 million. However, the activity of the Security Service cannot always be estimated in terms of money and there is no substitute for security. In conclusion, Malykov stated that, in terms of its operational possibilities, personnel, and intellectual potential, the Security Service is generally capable of fulfilling the tasks stipulated by legislation in the sphere of state security.

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Belarus

Leaders Sign Security Guarantees at Summit

WS0512150694 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] Today's schedule for Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka at the CSCE summit in Budapest is exceptionally busy. The first plenary session began at 0900 [0800 GMT] at the Budapest Convention Center. [Words indistinct] our president was warmly welcomed by Hungarian President Arpad Goncz. At 1200 Minsk time [0900 GMT], an event of extreme importance took place in (?Bartok) Hall—the discussion and subsequent signature of a memorandum on security guarantees for Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine. Leaders of the United States, the Russian Federation, and the United Kingdom validated the document with their signatures, guaranteeing the three former Soviet republics—now independent states—respect for their independence, sovereignty, and present borders. The guarantor states again reiterated their commitment to refrain from using force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Belarus, and that the weapons of those countries will not be used against Belarus for purposes other than self-defense or in conformity with the United Nations Charter. Following the signing ceremony of the memorandum, Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka held a five-minute conversation with U.S. President Bill Clinton.

Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka is expected to deliver a report at the plenary session later this evening.

Lukashenka Suspends Sale of 'Secret' Facility

AU0512134694 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 2 Dec 94 p 5

[Unattributed report: "My Neighbor's Secret Is Also My Secret"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belarusian President A. Lukashenka has temporarily suspended the fulfillment of the contract on selling the surface-to-air missile complex S-300 PMU to the U.S.-Canadian firm "A.T.O.S." He said this in his interview for the newspaper ZVYAZDA. A. Lukashenka stated: "It is a secret complex, developed by Russia with the participation of Belarus. I cannot sell it. If we want to be sensible in our trade activities, we must decide on such steps jointly."

Chyhir Chairs Repayments, Hard Currency Talks

WS0612092294 Minsk BELAPAN in English 1600 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Mikhail Chyhir the ninth session of the Financial-Credit Commission of the Cabinet of Ministers was held. Its participants discussed the critical situation in the repayment of foreign credits, the question of allotting resources from the foreign currency account of the Ministry of Finance, the possibility of granting managing organizations privileges on compulsory sale of hard currencies, the question of financing projects through the credit lines from Germany, Austria, and the European and International Banks for Reconstruction and Development, and other matters. The commission gave its OK to financing the projects that were submitted by the Minsk tractor plant, the Homel Executive Committee, the Minsk-based Milavitsa factory, the Belarusian metallurgical plant, the Vitsebsk-based Vitba factory, the Sopotex joint stock company, the Belremkommunmash production amalgamation, and the Ministry of Forestry.

Moldova

Snegur Opposes Russian CSCE Reorganization

LD0512163794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1601 GMT 5 Dec 94

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: Reports by diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Korzun, Igor Porshnev, Yevgeniy Terekhov and others]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In his Tuesday's [6 December] address to the CSCE summit in Budapest President Mircea Snegur of Moldova intends to raise the issue of establishing international control over the implementation of the agreement on withdrawing Russia's 14th Army from his country. Interfax learned this from the Deputy Director of the European Organizations Department of Moldova's Foreign Ministry Oleg Unguryanu.

He will also point to the need to observe "full neutrality by the countries taking part in the efforts to resolve regional conflicts." Kishinev [Chisinau] proceeds from the assumption that peacekeeping forces should be deployed with the consent of the conflicting sides, the diplomat said.

Judging by the theses of the Moldovan president's address which are available to Interfax, Mircea Snegur intends to suggest that the CSCE should clarify the notions of the "right to self-determination" and "separatism".

While respecting the right of nations to self-determination, it is necessary to realize that some groups often use it as a cover for pursuing separatist trends, the document says. The address points to the need to "unanimously condemn" separatism and use sanctions against those who support it directly or indirectly.

Most countries are multinational. To stimulate separatist trends in one area or another may have serious consequences for the destiny of this world and its security, the address says.

Though the conflict in Trans-Dniestria is no longer accompanied by bloodshed, it continues to pose a

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serious threat to Moldova's sovereignty and territorial integrity, the document points out.

Unguryanu briefly dwelled on Moldova's attitude to the Russian proposals to reform the CSCE and stressed that Kishinev does not support the idea of radically reorganizing the CSCE into a kind of European U.N. with its own Security Council.

To create in the CSCE a leading body consisting of permanent and rotating members, as Russia suggests, will be "detrimental to small nations, particularly to the newly independent countries, which will have virtually no voice in the new European Security Council," he pointed out.

Andronic on Avoidance of War in Dniester

AU0512154194 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1930 GMT 3 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 3/12/1994—"Today, a war would suit Dniester and that is why I am afraid of provocations," says Nicolae Andronic, Chisinau Parliament's vice chairman to the Russian language newspaper KISHINEVSKYE NOVOSTI. "Moldova needs a guarantor of its security," says Andronic, stressing that "neither Russia nor Great Britain, nor the United States are hurrying to offer such guarantees." Andronic also said that when Russia was attempting to obtain the status of blue helmets for its armed forces deployed on the ex-USSR's territory, taking as an example the practice of the peace keeping forces in Moldova, "we said nothing, in order not to spoil the relations with Russia and remind it that the 1992 Moldovan-Russian agreement is being breached." Andronic stressed that Dniester armed forces have been introduced in the security zone. More proposals are voiced to include 14th Army officers in the composition of the peace keeping forces. This means a breaching not only of the Snegur-Yeltsin agreement but also of the agreements stipulating the 14th Army withdrawal, said Andronic. Asked whether it is possible for Romania to participate in the peace keeping forces, Andronic said that "the participation of our neighbours is not desirable."

Communists Call For State Controlled Economy

AU0612092294 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 2 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau INFOTAG, 2/12/1994—The Moldovan Communist Party believes, "Moldova is experiencing a period of reaction, which is expressed in the forcible transition to capitalism, in annihilation of socialist relations, in de- nationalization and privatization of state-owned property."

The party co-chairman, Vladimir Voronin, said in his interview with MOLDOVANUL weekly of Friday that the Moldovan authorities "are leading the Republic to deliberate stoppage of industry and to bankruptcy of enterprises, so that to eventually sell them to local and foreign dealers." Collective and state farms are being ruined, free health service is being liquidated, science and cultures are degrading, and the system of social protection of children and old people is being undermined, he said.

"We have been living not only under a new political regime, but also in a new economic set-up which can be called 'nomenclature-ruled capitalism'," Voronin stated.

The way out of the crisis is viewed by communists in establishing a new power: "The power of national trust." In economy, one cannot appeal to monetarist recipes. "We cannot accept many of the advice offered by IMF consultants, who recommend to take measures to reduce budget deficit at any cost."

In his opinion, all resources should be controlled by the state. To save the nation's genetic fund, may be we shall have to introduce a rationing system for a certain time. And the struggle with corruption cannot be delayed any more, he said.

The Communist Party, having already 28 municipal and regional subdivisions, is conducting re-registering of former CPSU members. The work will be completed by December 24, when the party will hold its first congress to adopt its programme and charter.

Foreign Trade Forecast Sees Russia Main Partner

AU0512192194 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1930 GMT 3 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 3/12/1994—Moldova's foreign trade turnover in 1995 will stand at 5,683 million lei ($1,353 million), states a report by the Economics Ministry. Exports will stand at $658 million and imports at $695 millions. "In estimating the foreign trade it was taken into account that export quotas will be annulled and customs restrictions will be removed," states the report. The deficit in the balance of payments will represent $37.2 million. The CIS states will account for 70 percent of Moldova's trade. Moldova's main partners are Russia (45 percent of the foreign trade), Ukraine, Romania, Belarus, Bulgaria and Germany. Barter transactions will represent 45 percent, 12 percent of the exports will be made against rubles. Experts from the Economics Ministry gauge that agroindustrial goods will account for 63 percent of the exports.

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Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Credits Ukraine for Security Guarantees

LD0512185294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1806 GMT 5 Dec 94

["INTERFAX-UKRAINE" news item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev said he considered granting the guarantees for security of the ex-USSR republics which joined the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons [NPT] as a "historic and important move."

He told journalists in Budapest today that "the persistency displayed by the Ukrainian parliament and president" and efforts of Kazakhstan had contributed to the ex-Soviet republics receiving such guarantees.

Nazarbayev told an Interfax-Ukraine correspondent that he believed the guarantees for security, inviolability of the borders and non-aggression to be the most important of the granted guarantees.

News Conference Held on Crime, Corruption

LD0512114694 Almaty VECHERNIY ALMATY in Russian 30 Nov 94 p1

[FBIS Translated Text] A news conference devoted to intensifying the war on crime and to the problems facing law-enforcement agencies has been held at the prosecutor's office of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Speaking to the journalists, Vladimir Shvedyuk, deputy Kazakh prosecutor general, stressed that the current state of legality and law and order leaves much to be desired. Although the crime rate is not in the least life-threatening, one should not indulge in false optimism, either.

Analysis has shown that the Republic's law-enforcement system has in the main adapted to the difficult conditions created by social and economic reforms, and that it is in a position to ensure application of the principle that punishment is unavoidable, so that punitive measures are taken against those who break the law, irrespective of their rank.

"It is very important to purge the law-enforcement agencies of corrupt personnel", the deputy prosecutor general said. And this is taking place. In the current year, 90 criminal actions have been brought against police personnel, seven against employees of the prosecutor's office, and 10 against judges and court officials. To make the purging process more effective, it has been decided to set up a special service in the prosecutor's office to detect and investigate all kinds of crimes.

Journalists asked: "What is the rate of success in clearing up premeditated murders?" Vladimir Shvedyuk answered that 83 percent of these very grave crimes have been cleared up since the beginning of the year.

The news conference did not fail to mention cases where the constitutional rights of citizens were grossly violated by the Almaty police who fabricated criminal cases against innocent people. "We have already interrogated more than 1,000 people, and the investigation is heading for the finishing line," the deputy prosecutor general said. "Police who are proved guilty will receive their just desserts."

The following information was provided on the Smagulov case. As well as illegally manipulating citizens' personal deposits, he is suspected of committing a grave crime, which has been reported in the press. The search for Smagulov continues, and a warrant for his arrest has been issued. Property worth 45 million tenge belonging to him has been sequestered, and his debts are estimated at 175 million tenge.

The Smagulov story goes on. The government has ordered the competent organizations to conduct a thorough study of manipulation by companies operating schemes similar to Smagulov's.

In conclusion, Shvedyuk underlined that the media has a considerable role to play in curbing crime.

Kyrgyzstan

Prime Minister Discusses Japan Visit

LD0612062194 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Russian 1400 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] A Kyrgyz Government delegation, led by Prime Minister Abbas Dzhumagulov, has not returned empty-handed from the land of the rising sun, Japan. In addition to the agreement on rendering us another preferential credit of about $31 million, our delegation has brought back invaluable experience of dealing with the largest Japanese corporations, companies, funds, and organizations.

Dzhumagulov spoke about the results of the participation of our delegation in the joint session of the Japan-Kyrgyz and Kyrgyz-Japan economic committees in Tokyo at a news conference for journalists. The head of the government assessed the visit overall as very successful, specific, and intense. He stressed that the main aim was to establish beneficial contacts with Japanese private business and to interest leading corporations in cooperation with our enterprises. In fact, although our relations are developing rather fruitfully at the interstate and intergovernmental level, direct contacts amount to virtually zero at the level of companies and firms of Japan and Kyrgyzstan.

Now the first close contact with fourteen leading Japanese corporations has taken place. Among them were such famous giants as the Sumitomo Corporation—which incidentally took it upon itself to arrange the

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session in Tokyo—Nissan, Marubeni, Mitsubishi, Toyota, and others. During intense and rich talks with businessmen, the members of our delegation—in addition to ministers there were heads from a number of large industrial enterprises—talked in detail about all possible forms of cooperation with Kyrgyzstan. Meetings and talks were also held in the Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry, the Japanese fund for developing agricultural production, and also in the fund for foreign economic cooperation.

As Dzhumagulov said, all these initial meetings and talks inspire confidence and hope in us that contacts will be continued. Of course, it would be naive to think that the Japanese business world will abandon all its affairs tomorrow and decide to invest their capital into Kyrgyzstan's economy. But the fact that a certain interest in our market and our economy has appeared among Japanese businessmen is indisputable. It is thanks to a considerable extent to our kind and old friends—professor Kanneda; Tanaaki, the advisor of the National Bank of Kyrgyzstan; Edamuri, former ambassador of Japan to Russia and Kyrgyzstan; and Yakiyamo, president of the Sumitomo Corporation—who fervently assured their Japanese counterparts that there are prospects for cooperation with Kyrgyzstan.

So what was achieved at the Tokyo meetings? Firstly, a presentation of the project for the reconstruction of the international Manas Airport was given. The Japanese Government intends to allocate a credit of $150 million for this program. It is a large long-term project rich with modern navigational equipment for entering Kyrgyzstan by air. The Japanese businessman were seriously interested in cooperation in the fields of mining and the joint production of rare soils, tin, antimony, building materials, and gold; there are drafts for reconstructing the Kantskiy cement and roofing slates integrated works, the Osh silk and textile factory, and the Tashkomir semiconductor factory, and a project for the joint production of Salotky herbs is virtually ready. In a word, Japanese interest in us has awoken, and in order to reinforce it, a large group of Japanese businessmen intends to come to Bishkek before the end of this year to undertake preliminary work.

Our government and production delegation is leaving for Paris for the conference on private investments in our agriculture and light industry on Tuesday 6 December.

Premier Declines Nomination as Supreme Council Candidate

LD0512152094 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] An address by Kyrgyz Prime Minister Abbas Dzhumagulov has come in to the editorial office. It says:

I am deeply touched by the fact that the work forces at a number of enterprises and institutions in the republic have nominated me as a candidate to the Kyrgyz Supreme Council. It has been and will continue to be a great honor for me to be a person whom the people want and to justify their trust.

I would like to give my heartfelt thanks to everybody who nominated me as a candidate for the Supreme Council, and to wish all voters good health and success in their work. Since under the Constitution and laws of the Kyrgyz Republic I have no right to stand as a candidate for the Supreme Council, I hope they will cast their voices for a no less worthy contender. I am confident that as the head of the executive authority I can be of some benefit to my homeland, including you, my dear electors.

Akayev Upbeat on Economic Recovery

LD0512182094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1611 GMT 5 Dec 94

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The first signs of financial and economic stabilization have emerged in Kyrgyzstan, President Askar Akayev said on Monday [5 December] at the government session devoted to forecasts for economic functioning next year.

The role played by government control in economic development will strengthen next year, he conceded. At the period of transition it is impossible to do without strong government regulation or reach stabilization in the economy as a whole without state control, Akayev said.

According to the president, the government will heighten its role by means of managing market mechanisms flexibly, not through direct high-handed management.

Tajikistan

New Premier Appointed, Cabinet To Be Restructured

LD0512173994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1611 GMT 5 Dec 94

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Emomali Rakhmanov has appointed Dzamshed Karimov, 54, the Republic's prime minister.

In line with the Constitution, adopted at the referendum on November 6, his candidature is to be approved by the country's new parliament which is to be elected on February 26, 1995.

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IF NOTE: In 1962 Karimov graduated from the institute of electric engineering in Dushanbe. He is doctor of economics. In 1983 he worked as Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Tajik Union Republic. In 1988 he was appointed the republic's deputy prime minister. In 1989-91 he was the Communist Party functionary. His recent post is chief state economics adviser.

Rakhmanov told the parliament session that Tajikistan plans to reduce the number of ministers from 26 to 18 and reduce the number of committees and departments under the republic's government from six to three. For example, the state committee for TV and radio broadcasting, the ministry for press and information and the ministry of culture will be united. He is to unite the ministries of economics and for foreign economic relations, as well as the ministries for auto-transport and for road maintenance.

The president said that the administrative personnel will be reduced by 20-30 percent.

The changes in the Cabinet structure are necessary for carrying out political and economic reforms, said Rakhmanov. First, believes Rakhmanov, it is necessary to form better bodies of state power, as well as economics bodies.

Today's economic situation in Tajikistan demands the creation of a more efficient government which would help restore the reasonable management of the economy, Rakhmanov told Interfax recently.

Meanwhile, chairman of the Tajik National Bank Kayum Kavmidinov told Interfax that "in the political plane the republic is ready for the unification of the budgets and banks of Russia and Tajikistan," which is an indispensable condition for its entering the ruble zone. However, "economically, it is necessary to do much," believes Kavmidinov. At the same time, he is sure that the two countries will unite their monetary systems (Tajikistan has received from Russia a credit worth over 140 billion rubles which is 20 billion rubles more than planned—"IF").

According to Kavmidinov, the current state of the economy and the production level in Tajikistan as of December 1 make it impossible for Tajikistan to introduce national currency in the republic. He, however, said it is likely that the provisional monetary unit will be "theoretically" introduced in the republic. (The banknotes were printed in Russia and delivered to Tajikistan in the spring of 1993—"IF").

Russian Border Guards Kill 2 'Infiltrators'

LD0612070394 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0631 GMT 6 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Galina Gridneva and Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Dushanbe, 6 Dec—Armed provocations on the Pamir stretch of the Tajik-Afghan border continue. The past day was no exception. ITAR-TASS has learned at the press center of the Russian border troops in Tajikistan that on Monday [5 December] evening border guards spotted four infiltrators in the area of the 6th border post of the Khorog border detachment. They tried to cross a border river to get into Afghanistan. Two infiltrators were killed in an exchange of fire. Three hours later two unknown persons were detained near the border village of Sokhcharv. They were attempting to cross over to Tajikistan from Afghanistan. They were armed with Kalashnikov guns. The border violators were arrested and handed over to local law enforcement bodies for investigation. No casualties among Russian border guards were reported. [passage omitted]

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Armenia

Appeal to CSCE To Condemn Azeri 'Aggression'

LD0612043094 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0120 GMT 6 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Lyudmila Aleksandrova, Sergey Zhirnikhin, and Yuriy Sizov]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Budapest, 6 Dec—"Armenia reserves the right to take any measures it considers appropriate to hold back aggression and ensure the vital interests of its people are met," Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan said in Budapest, ITAR-TASS has reported, quoting sources close to the CSCE Secretariat. [passage omitted]

The sharp statement of the Armenian leader was prompted by an incident that took place in Armenia recently. "The blowing up of a bridge across the Khram River is a flagrant violation of the cease-fire." "The Budapest summit should unconditionally condemn this terrorist act of Azerbaijan," Ter-Petrosyan said. [passage omitted] Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze, who arrived in Budapest on Monday afternoon, has refrained from commenting on the incident, having said that he had insufficient information and that the situation in his country was extremely tense.

Addressing the summit, Ter-Petrosyan described the incident as "yet another act of aggression by Azerbaijan and an act of war that wipes out all efforts and achievements attained by the CSCE as a result of laborious work." He thinks that the aim of "the provocation" is to frustrate the peace process. He said that it would be naive to believe that the timing of the explosion had nothing to do with the Budapest summit. Azerbaijan seeks to gain time to prepare for wide-scale military operations, the Armenian leader said. [passage omitted]

Vote for IMF Package Seen as 'Pyrrhic Victory'

MM0512155394 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Boris Mkrtchyan: "Prices Deregulated: Armenia's Parliament Capitulates to IMF"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yerevan—"There has been a revolution in Armenia"--This is how President Levon Ter-Petrosyan evaluated the results of the vote in the republic's parliament on the issue of the new economic program foisted onto Armenia by the International Monetary Fund.

The Supreme Council adopted this program, which the opposition described as "openly pro-Western" and "antipeople," by only a few votes.

The fact is that, in offering Armenia long-term credit, the IMF has laid down one condition: that market reforms in the sphere of production and distribution be completed, that the policy of subsidizing low-profit enterprises be abandoned, and that prices for essential goods be freed, all in the speediest possible manner, so as to attain a balanced budget. In line with this program, bread prices increased 11-fold in Armenia as of 1 December (six months hence they will be deregulated altogether), while prices for electricity, communal services, and other utilities are going up several times over. In short, through the goodness of the "reformers" the Republic's population is being condemned to the sparsest existence imaginable.

Where, in that case, does President Ter-Petrosyan see the thrust of the "revolution" he proclaims? In the fact that "its result has been the utter defeat of the remnants of the old system and a courageous move toward fundamental reforms." In other words, Armenia's rulers, with the help of Western financial structures, will henceforth follow a course toward the speediest affirmation of capitalism and bourgeois institutions in the Republic.

The IMF credits and the government's new economic program nevertheless failed to elicit either enthusiasm or support from the broad masses. The people are concerned about the future and about the imminent fantastic price hikes. Against a backdrop of mass unemployment, miserly wages, and mass emigration, such austere "shock therapy" in the name of stabilizing the budget can in no way be justified. According to a statement by Former Prime Minister Khosrov Arutyunyan, the authorities could even arrive at a subsidy-free budget by using a source like the "shadow" economy, "which is a very solid reserve vote both for topping up the budget and for distributing and redistributing incomes and property within society." Incidentally, according to an evaluation by the republic's economy minister the "shadow" economy in Armenia today accounts for roughly 70 percent of the entire turnover of financial resources and funds.

While the debate on the new economic program was under way in the Armenian parliament, the approaches to the presidential palace and the Supreme Soviet building were blocked by crowds of demonstrators demanding the resignations of the president and the government. Squabbles erupted inside the parliament itself, where around 60 deputies took part in the debate.

Today opposition representatives are claiming that definite pressure was put on several deputies to secure their votes in favor of the IMF and government program. Some opposition deputies actually voted for the government program. These included six from the Communist faction. Last Friday, at an extraordinary plenum of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, all six recreant deputies were expelled from the party.

So the debate drew to a close, the deputies voted, and the program was adopted. But the possible consequences of so serious a political decision continue to worry the public. Some fear that the political atmosphere could

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exacerbate sharply and dangerous social explosions could occur in the republic as a result of the shock measures. Others are worried at Russia's possible negative reaction to the Armenian authorities' openly pro-Western action. A third group view the IMF credits as an instrument of Armenia's long-term economic and political subjugation to Western "Maecenas" which, in the final analysis, will lead to a definitive loss of national sovereignty and of firm positions on the Karabakh question. As for the republic's president and his supporters, they believe that they and the right-wing bloc of liberal forces have won a great victory which "leaves no doubt about the success of the joint efforts in next May's parliamentary elections." But could it prove a Pyrrhic victory?

Georgia

Regular Interview With Shevardnadze

LD0512152494 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0635 GMT 5 Dec 94

[Weekly interview with Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent Nato Oniani—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Oniani] Good morning. We present a radio interview with the chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze.

Mr. Shevardnadze, we cannot, of course, start today with our traditional subject [the economy]. A horrible incident happened on 3 December when Giorgi Chanturia, chairman of the National-Democratic Party, was shot in his car. [His wife] Irina Sarishvili was wounded, and one other member of the party, Merab Baramia, died later. A new terrorist act, a new political act happened in Georgia which was marked not only by its cruelty but also terrible cynicism.

[Shevardnadze] Thank you. I described last Saturday as Black Saturday. Unfortunately, there have been many black days like this in Georgian history. It is not the right time now to recall previous incidents. However, these terrible incidents, treason, treacherous killings, terrorist acts, and illegal shootings must be recorded, analyzed, and left for future generations to judge and draw conclusions. Universal public repugnance and irreconcilability with such barbaric incidents and violence in general must be cultivated in every generation.

Gia Chanturia was a politician of the future, one of the helmsmen of a democratic state. This is how I knew him, and this is what I thought about his future. And this is also how he will be remembered by our people and the Georgian state.

Thank God, as they say, that his wife and closest comrade-in-arms, kalbatoni Irina, who is also our comrade-in-arms, survived. Let us hope that she will recover as soon as possible and struggle together with society in general to suppress the dark forces and build a country.

The state is doing everything it can to reveal the terrorists and, especially, the filthy forces behind them. There are now state structures which are able to stand on their own feet and powerful enough to do it.

I offer my condolences to Gia's family, to kalbatoni Irina. I offer condolences to the National-Democratic Party, which suffered an irreplaceable loss.

[Oniani] The National-Democratic Party holds the authorities, among others, responsible for this assassination and believes that the act was carried out by Russian imperialists and Georgian antidemocratic mafia groups. You gave your assessment of the assassination yesterday at a meeting of solidarity with the National-Democratic Party organized by the Citizens' Union. Later, there was a meeting of political parties at the Rustaveli theater which adopted a resolution the main demands of which were that the security and defense ministers should resign, the Rescue Corps, set up on the basis of the Mkhedrioni [paramilitary group], should be abolished, Jaba Ioseliani [founder of the paramilitary group], should be removed from the anticorruption commission, and the Cabinet of Ministers should resign. These are the four main demands. The resolution also speaks of antinational neocommunist forces wishing to separate Georgia from the west, tie it to Russia, and so on.

So, it can be said that while some people are, of course, taking this tragedy to heart, there are also others who are trying to use it to their advantage. The latter category also includes those shedding crocodile tears, as you said yesterday. We all know that, despite our attitude to it, the National-Democratic Party was a special party. I believe that both the party's friends and its foes should have respected it and its leader. We also know about the attitude of individual political parties and forces to this party.

[Shevardnadze] I have been in virtually constant dialogue with the National-Democratic Party leaders, at least whenever there was a need for it. That is why there is no need for me to argue with them now. They are in a special situation, and my attitude as well as the attitude of others to them is also special.

As for some of the speeches at the Rustaveli theater and the resolution which was adopted, I would like to say a few words about that. The loss of any person is a shame. It is understandable that the assassination of a politician is twice as tragic for a country.

In my address at the theater, I said that the nation must be united. We must all join forces to fight the evil. A state can suppress terror, the mafia, and the underworld only if the people and society are united and there is real support for this. Some members of society invite further confrontation by issuing prescriptions in order to heal the country without waiting for a diagnosis which is still

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to be made. This is not right. Today one must think ten times before accusing any force, individual, or structure.

There is a proverb: The thief sinned once, but the accuser sinned a thousand times. As I said yesterday, there are people shedding crocodile tears today. Many recent speeches and demands push us toward neocommunism in a perverted and even more dangerous sense of the word. That is why I urge every citizen and political force to retain reason and common sense in these days of tribulation and, of course, in the future.

Let us retain reason and common sense. Let us be especially cautious and vigilant in order not to allow petty politicians governed by personal ambitions to turn the natural state of grief into evil and indiscriminate revenge.

[Oniani] There was a new twist in the Abkhaz problem last week—I mean the latest events in Abkhazia. You discussed it in your previous interview. There were statements to this effect both from you and from parliament last week. The UN Security Council, Russia's Federation Council, the United States, the German and French ambassadors to Georgia, and many others have also issued statements supporting Georgia's territorial integrity.

You are going to Budapest today to attend a CSCE meeting and to make a speech there. How important is the Budapest summit for solving the Abkhaz problem?

[Shevardnadze] As far as the decision [the declaration of sovereignty] made in Abkhazia is concerned, you have already said what kind of reaction it prompted from the UN Security Council, the Russian leadership, and other political and public organizations. I believe that their documents are interesting and very important. I already said in parliament and will repeat now that the adoption and publication of these documents shows again that the Abkhaz separatists are gradually becoming bogged down in a swamp of political and moral isolation. I do not think that that was the end of it. A lot more is still to be said, and a lot more will follow this, I would say, reckless decision.

You know well that I always was and I still am in favor of Abkhaz statehood not being merely a token but substantive. This is precisely what we are proposing to the Abkhaz side, Russia in its role as mediator, the United Nations, and the CSCE as a basis for talks. Despite the decision [the Abkhaz declaration of sovereignty], we still adhere to this position. But that could only be within a single, united, and indivisible Georgia.

As regards the Budapest meeting, you know that I should have flown to Budapest yesterday. It so happened, because of the tragedy, that I was not able to attend the opening of this very important summit. I am going today and will take part in the final day's work [tomorrow]. As you know, this is a summit meeting, a meeting of heads of state. Judging by the draft documents which I have seen, it may become an important event in modern European life. It is difficult to predict what the final documents will be, but I believe that these will not be empty declarations. We are all tired of declarations and resolutions. I am going to speak about this at the meeting. If there is a will to take concrete action to maintain peace and security and to extinguish the fires which have also spread to Georgia, then the summit will have achieved its goal.

I have seen some of the drafts. Our delegation has been working intensively there for some time. I will not discuss them now. As you know I will also address the meeting. This will be a short address, and what I will be able to say will also be known. [sentence as received].

There will also be some other meetings. Unfortunately, the most interesting was expected to happen yesterday and today. There will be no time for many such [interesting] dialogues. But there will be some interesting things anyway. I will come back tomorrow and make a report to the public. It is makes little sense to discuss this further until there are first-hand impressions.

[Oniani] Finally, a regular subject of the Monday interviews recently has been a review of the previous week's economic news. The most important event of last week was your visit to Turkmenistan. I must tell you that there have been rumors among the population that gas is [deliberately] not being supplied to the population.

[Shevardnadze] The most important event of recent days was the visit by my colleagues and myself to Turkmenistan. This visit should have clarified quite a lot. And indeed, I think, much was clarified, and we reached significant decisions as a result of a kind and constructive attitude on the part of our friends and, above all, the president of Turkmenistan, Mr. Niyazov. Extremely important decisions and agreements were reached concerning the resumption of natural gas supplies and the destructuralization of Georgia's debt, which means the deferment of debt repayment. We now have the right to start repaying our debt in two years. This provides the opportunity to develop a new approach to cooperation. I will return to this a little later.

Now I would like to discuss budgetary problems, since they will determine the future of economic development this year and, especially, next year, as well as the future of many other programs that we are now working on. [passage omitted]

In the opinion of the National Bank and other structures, we now have the right to stress that considerable stabilization has been achieved on the country's domestic currency market. At the same time, in connection with the implementation of the budget—in the event credits are released—as well as [the payment of] compensations during the next stage of regulating bread prices by industrial structures, it cannot be ruled out that the coupon may fall somewhat by the end of the year. I am saying this because the trend which we are now talking

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about is not a law. How events develop will depend on our ability to collect and pay taxes. This applies to every citizen, every enterprise, and every organization. If this problem is solved, then there will be a set trend, and it will be possible to speak about the introduction of a national currency and an overall improvement of the situation in the country.

As regards gas supplies, I would like to say that if we receive gas... [Shevardnadze pauses] It is due to reach us today or tomorrow, but most probably today. The pipeline was empty, and several days were needed after the meeting in Turkmenistan for it to be filled. This may not be very interesting for listeners, but 50 million to 60 million (?cubic meters) of natural gas is needed to fill such a long pipeline. If we receive gas, that will only be a temporary relief. It is essential that the country should become solvent. You cannot go on forever spending resources belonging to others if you are unable to pay for them. That is how we have lived so far. But it is impossible to go on like this.

Is there a way out? I believe that, in that respect, what has been done in Kutaisi is a good example. Although there is no gas and the supply of electricity is extremely erratic, they managed to continue work, and the city's industry is still functioning. Thanks to that they managed to find the necessary resources and signed a contract with the relevant agencies in Turkmenistan on the supply of one million cubic meters of gas [a day]. They took personal responsibility to pay for the gas they are getting. So long as their industry is functioning, they are able to help the population. A certain proportion of the amount, if not all the amount, which the population has to pay will be covered as a result of the fact that industry is functioning. I believe that this is what all the regions should do, especially the capital. [passage omitted]

As they did in Kutaisi, the leadership of Tbilisi should also sign a contract with the gas department and receive the amount of gas it can pay for. Tbilisi has an enormous industry. One-third of the [Georgia's] industrial potential is concentrated in the capital. Everything must be done to use it. If it is used properly, there will be an opportunity to introduce certain privileges for the population, whose gas bills are too high. [passage omitted]

Payment for gas should come before gas consumption. Otherwise, the crisis will recur as early as the beginning of next year. If it happens, we will then find ourselves in a complete deadlock. [passage omitted]

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Estonia

President's CSCE Speech, Reaction to Yeltsin Remarks

WS0612114494 Tallinn BNS in English 1011 GMT 6 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Budapest, Dec 06, BNS—Human rights must be observed nonselectively and they must be the same for all, Estonian President Lennart Meri said in his speech at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe summit in the Hungarian capital, Budapest, on Monday [5 December].

In Meri's words, no exceptions concerning adherence to human rights can be made depending on one or another country's geographical position, cultural heritage, history, politics, or other circumstances. "In other words, no to rubber rulers," the president declared.

Commenting on Russian President Boris Yeltsin's claims that authorities in Estonia were restricting the rights of the Russian Orthodox church, Meri said church was independent of the state in Estonia.

In Meri's words, Estonia's admission to the Council of Europe in 1993 witnessed that the Baltic Republic was a democratic state that upheld human rights.

The Estonian head of state also voiced the opinion that the CSCE should turn its attention considerably more forcefully than at present to the CIS countries.

Touching on problems related to peacekeeping operations, Meri stated that, if the use of force was considered, it had to be approved by the UN Security Council. In Meri's opinion, all peacekeeping missions must comply with provisions of the final document of the CSCE 1992 Helsinki summit.

"If peacekeeping should be subjected to political considerations, a new division of spheres of interest is not far off," the president said in his speech. [passage omitted]

Justice Chancellor Stresses Validity of Tartu Peace Treaty

WS0612095194 Tallinn ETA in English 1716 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Constitution of Republic of Estonia Provision 122 says that the land border between Estonia and Russia is determined by the Tartu Peace Treaty of February 2, 1920, while all problems emerge from the fact that neither the Soviet Union nor Russia have acknowledged the Treaty or have done it only selectively, Estonian Chancellor of Justice Eerik-Juhan Truuvali told the Riigikogu [parliament] on Monday [5 December].

The Constitution ties Estonia's land border to Tartu Peace Treaty and other international treaties—this is the grammatical interpretation of the Constitution, which is prior also by European laws, Truuvali said. The land border between Estonia and Latvia is determined by an agreement concluded at a 1923 border conference, he added.

Truuvali reminded MPs of the attitude the West has to this issue, expressed by Klaus Kinkel, i.e. that Tartu Peace Treaty continues to be valid in an abstract sense, but the 1991 Estonian-Russian agreement which is superior to it has given it new contents. The agreement does not include state border issue but determines that the state border regime will be determined by further agreements, Truuvali said. As to the relations of the Peace Treaty and Helsinki Final Act, not only the text of the agreement can be taken as a basis of interpretation but also international customs, Truuvali said, adding that these relations were to be explained by Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The about 2,000 square kilometres of territories that Estonia wishes back were added to Russia's Leningrad and Pihkva regions after Estonia was occupied by Russia in 1940. These territories had belonged to Estonia since 1920. According to the Tartu Peace Treaty, Estonian-Russian border was moved to "one cannonball flying distance" (12 km) from objects of importance to the Estonian security. In south-east Estonia also ethical and geographical factors were taken into account in moving the border line. In August this year, however, Russia started unilateral demarcation of the temporary control line, determined during the Soviet occupation. Russian President Boris Yeltsin has declared that Moscow "will not give up one single centimetre of land, no matter who claims it" and stated that the territorial demands by Estonia were futile.

Conditions Set To Resolve Border Issue

LD0512184494 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1600 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Until Russia recognizes the 1920 Tartu peace treaty, there is no ground for defining a new Estonian state border, Justice Chancellor Eerik-Juhan Truuvali stated at the Riigikogu [parliament] information hour today.

Truuvali added that not all the articles of the treaty could be followed because the current situation differed from the one in 1920. Truuvali noted that articles of the peace treaty have clauses allowing all these issues to be resolved between the two sides. He said that neither did the Constitution stipulate that the Tartu peace treaty defined the Estonian-Russian border forever—it could be also defined by other international treaties. Truuvali emphasized that the agreements concluded with Russia on 12 January 1991 did not define the border but just concerned the border regime.

Truuvali found that the issue of the Estonian-Russian land border needed a separate treaty but—in order to avoid a breach of the Constitution—it could not be concluded until Russia would recognize the Tartu peace

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treaty. Truuvali said that abandoning recognition of the Tartu peace treaty also meant abandoning recognition of Estonia's independence between 1918 and 1920.

Defense Committee Condemns Story on Secret Structure

WS0612093094 Tallinn ETA in English 1712 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Estonian parliament's state defence committee discussed on Monday [5 December] an article published in the EESTI EKSPRESS weekly on a yet unspoken of secret security structure in Estonia, saying that the activities, staff, location etc. of such structures should not be discussed in a detailed way in press.

The committee found that reporters of EESTI EKSPRESS had broken the principles on which every citizen who "not only in words but also really cared about his state and its security", should base his activities. Deputy chairman of the committee Peeter Lorents told ETA that the committee found that every state must have such structures to guarantee its security, in which all that can endanger the state is observed, analyzed and prognosed. At the same time it was natural that the activities, staff, location etc. of these structures could not and should not be a matter of public and detailed discussion, Lorents said.

EESTI EKSPRESS weekly published in its last edition on December 2 an article "Secret of Toompea: Estonian intelligence service", which is devoted to a secret analyzing centre under the State Chancellery which does not exist in any public documents and which reports only to the Prime and Foreign Minister. According to EESTI EKSPRESS we have here a fourth intelligence service besides the Defence Police, Defence Forces headquarters 2nd department and Defence League intelligence services, while it served not as a counterintelligence but a foreign intelligence service. The paper motivates the publication of its story with the fact that while Russian troops were still in Estonia it was necessary to keep the service secret, but now it should step in public relations like in any free country.

Estonian Gas Signs Agreement With Russia's Gazprom

LD0512173694 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1000 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Summary] The Estonian side signed a gas supply contract between Estonian Gas joint stock company and Russia's Gazprom for 1995. [illegible]nd the Russian side is expected to approve the [illegible]ct this week.

Aarne Saar, the director [illegible]al of Estonian Gas, told BNS [Baltic News Service] that the amounts in the contract would cover Estonia's needs in full—the quota for Estonia to import gas from Russia was more than Estonian Gas could sell in Estonia. Saar said that the company expected to sell about 700 million cubic meters of gas in 1995. In 1993, Estonian Gas sold 442 million cubic meters of gas and the sales for 1994 are expected to amount to 625 million cubic meters.

Saar said that Estonian Gas, unlike the Latvian and Lithuanian gas enterprises, had no debt problems with Gazprom. The trade debtors owed to Estonian Gas 90 million kroons as of 15 November.

Latvia

Foreign Minister on Brussels Talks, Kozyrev Remarks

WS0512143794 Tallinn BNS in English 1321 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Riga, Dec 05, BNS—NATO gives all countries equal chances of future membership, Latvian Foreign Minister Valdis Birkavs said Saturday [3 December] on return from a meeting of foreign ministers in Brussels.

Birkavs motivated the statement saying that the conference adopted a communique providing to draft criteria for expansion in a year. The potential member countries will be announced in November 1996 in a meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, Birkavs said.

Latvia needs to shape up its defense forces in compliance with NATO requirements and participate in the Partnership for Peace plan to become "ready and more ready than other countries" to join the alliance, the minister noted. Latvia should also present its individual cooperation program with NATO already this year, join its 1995 exercise and draft a national defense concept soon.

Commenting on the refusal of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to sign the cooperation program with NATO, Birkavs said the move was "oriented toward interior policies."

During his Brussels visit, Birkavs had individual talks with his Canadian, Luxembourg and Dutch counterparts. He also took part in the meeting of 11 Central European foreign ministers with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

Foreign Minister: CSCE Will Not Adopt Rights Resolution

WS0612114094 Tallinn BNS in English 1011 GMT 6 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Riga, Dec 06, BNS—The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will not adopt a resolution confirming the concern of its member countries over problems of human rights and ethnic minorities in the Baltics, Latvian Foreign Minister Valdis Birkavs told BNS.

The Latvian delegation to the CSCE summit in Budapest objected to the adoption of the document because of

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changes in some definitions of the document, including those on the problems of human rights and ethnic minorities, Birkavs said by phone from the Hungarian capital.

Latvia will continue to defend its interests regarding this issue, the foreign minister noted.

Apparently, "the Baltic issue" will also remain outside the final document of the summit, said Birkavs. "The final document usually mentions countries that have problems," he said.

The 53-nation CSCE follows the principle of consensus in its decision making. Thus, it can only take decisions that are approved by all member countries.

State Secretary Authorized To Sign Agreements

WS0612092794 Tallinn BNS in English 1619 GMT 5 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Riga, Dec 05, BNS—The Latvian Cabinet Foreign and Security Affairs Committee authorized Foreign Ministry State Secretary Maris Riekstins Monday [5 December] to sign several Latvian-Russian interstate agreements.

On Dec. 14 in Moscow, Riekstins is scheduled to sign a consular convention; an agreement on mutual travel; and an agreement on Russian trips of former Soviet citizens who are now permanent residents of Latvia but lack any citizenship.

In addition, Riekstins is empowered to sign a document on easy frontier crossing terms for frontier zone residents and an agreement on frontier representatives.

In another action, the government committee approved amendments to the Administrative Code providing to tighten responsibility for infringement of frontier crossing regulations.

Debt Said Hampering Talks With Russian Gas Concern

WS0612092094 Tallinn BNS in English 1534 GMT 4 Dec 94

[From the "Baltic Business Weekly" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Talks between the Latvijas Gaze (Latvian Gas) enterprise and the Russian Gazprom gas concern are obstructed by the Latvian $12 million debt for supplied gas, Latvian Energy Minister Juris Ozolins said.

The debt formed between September and November, and Latvijas Gaze will have to look for loans to pay it, Ozolins said.

Latvijas Gaze has already received $28.39 million in loans from the Japanese Export and Import Bank and the International Reconstruction and Development Bank to pay for Gazprom supplies in 1993 and 1994.

Commenting on the talks with Gazprom's management, Ozolins described them as "inflexible" regarding prices. Gazprom insists that this year's price of $77.5 per 1,000 cubic meters of gas is preserved, while Latvian Gas wants the price curtailed to $60. The Latvian Gas also aims at extension of accounting terms from 10 days to one month.

"Compared with the 1993 talks on natural gas supply to Latvia when Gazprom management dictated its own terms, economic concern is felt in the talks this year because Russia has already lost 60 percent of the Baltic market," said Latvian Gas Director General Adrians Davis.

It is more advantageous to Russia to transport gas to the Baltic countries than, for example, to France because the task is less complicated, Davis noted.

The Baltic energy ministers failed to reach an agreement last week in Riga on common strategies for talks with Gazprom. In addition, each of the three Baltic countries has different relations with Gazprom. Gazprom owns about one third of the Estonian Gas company.

Parliament Adopts New Law on Security

WS0512132294 Riga DIENA in Latvian 25 Nov 94 pp 1, 8

[Report by Liga Laizane: "State Legislation on Security Brought to Order"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Riga, 24 Nov — Today, parliament adopted the law "On State Defense," which will act as the state's main law in the field of defense and—jointly with amendments to the law on Defense Forces and the National Guard—will finally bring order to legislation concerning relationships among Latvian military structures.

As DIENA was told by Minister of Defense Janis Arveds Trapans, after this law is adopted, a defense concept will have to be drafted, which will take about one month. After that, the ministry will begin work—for approximately six months—on creating a military doctrine.

The adopted law defines the idea of state protection, the obligations of the National Armed Forces [NBS], and the division of competences of state institutions in the field of defense. It also determines the number and the composition of the National Security Council, names nonmilitary organizations that can be established to defend the state, and specifies what actions should be taken in case of war and other extraordinary circumstances. The law will come into force from the moment it is announced.

The new law states that the NBS consists of Defense Forces and the National Guard, but in case of war or other exceptional circumstances, it also includes other military formations of the Defense and Internal Affairs Ministries.

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Among others, NBS obligations are: to ensure the state border, land, sea, and airspace safety, to protect the government against violent overthrow, and to provide for the stability of the governing state system fixed by the Constitution, as well as to participate in operations of the UN peacekeeping forces. The draft law on NBS participation in international activities has already been worked out by the parliamentary Committee for Foreign Affairs and passed to the parliament for a second reading.

The law determines that the state president is the NBS chief. However, the main leader of the NBS is its commander who is directly subject to the minister of defense. The commander is appointed for a four year term, and can be recalled by the parliament, on the basis of the president's recommendation. Also the chief of the National Guard is both appointed and recalled on the president's recommendation. The NBS commander forms his own staff.

As DIENA was told Thursday by Ivars Silars, chairman of the parliament Committee of Defense and Internal Affairs, the amendments to the law on Defense Forces and National Guard, adopted by Saeima [parliament] on 17 November, have eliminated all contradictions in previous regulations concerning the above-mentioned formations. The commander of the National Guard will perform the functions of the National Guard chief. The position of the commander of the Defense Forces has been liquidated. "The state president is not the chief of the National Guard any more, because it would be absurd if the president would have been subject to the commander of the NBS," said Silars.

To DIENA's inquiry at the State President's Office about this issue, the reply was that the matter was still being clarified, and an announcement would follow later.

The only regulation left from the previous law on state defense concerns obligatory military service. However, according to Silars, it could be changed only by a new Saeima. Currently, it is more important to invest money in creating the Baltic Battalion.

Economic Ministry Officials Grant Illegal Guarantees

WS0512151894 Riga DIENA in Latvian 24 Nov 94 pp 1, 8

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Riga, 23 Nov — Officials of the Ministry of Economy have not only assigned cheap credits from the State Privatization Fund, but have also granted guarantees for receiving credits from other companies. As the State Minister of Privatization Druvis Skulte told DIENA, the guarantees were granted without his knowledge. They have also not been registered in the report on expenditures of the fund's resources. The guarantees were signed by Aina Bataraga, former state secretary in the Ministry of Economy, the Fund's Operation Department Chief Janis Karlsbergs, and the fund's bookkeeper Zinaida Lehte.

As DIENA has already reported, thus far, the resources of the State Privatization Fund have been divided among a narrow group of people, without the necessary publicity. No competitions were announced. Private companies were granted credits of 5 percent per year, which is a very low interest rate. Simultaneously, guarantees for credits were granted. Decisions on granting credits, as well as regulations on granting guarantees were signed by State Secretary of the Ministry of Economy Aina Bataraga. Despite the existing law, neither the parliament nor the government have yet confirmed the program or the report on using the resources of the State Privatization Fund. [passage omitted]

The principles of the fund's activities, affirmed by the government, do not state precisely how the guarantees should be granted. There is only a statement that the fund has the right to grant guarantees, providing they do not exceed the amount foreseen in the program on using the resources of the State Privatization Fund. Regarding the fact that the program has not yet been accepted, the method and amount of granting the guarantees have not been clear, either.

The law on budget and finance, adopted on 6 April, states that solely the minister of finance has the right to grant guarantees, charging the state budget with liabilities. As was explained by Gatis Kaminskis, director of the budget department in the Ministry of Finance, at the time the fund's guarantees were being granted, the above-mentioned law was not yet in force, and there were no other regulations on this matter. Only the state secretary, however, had the right to adopt decisions regarding internal problems of the ministry. Granting of credits and guarantees based on state resources was not the ministry's internal business. Bataraga should have handed out the guarantees with the authorization of Ojars Kehris, minister of economy at that time.

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